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WEEKLY REVIEW
INSIDE TODAY

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**Perspectives
on the unrest**

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SECOND EDITION



Gaza yesterday

(Brian Hendler)

Four-hour cabinet debate focuses on riots in areas

Shamir stresses need to explain actions in territories – especially to Cairo

By ASHER WALLEISH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said yesterday that Israel must take pains to explain the situation in the occupied areas and the government's policy there to Egypt, the only Arab state which maintains diplomatic relations with Israel.

Summing up a four-hour debate at the weekly cabinet session on the violent disturbances in Judea, Samaria and Gaza over the past fortnight, Shamir said that in contacts with foreign capitals, and above all with Cairo, Israeli representatives will have to make a special point of emphasizing the efforts made by the IDF to prevent casualties among Arab civilians.

Meanwhile, Israeli diplomats in Washington were reportedly making strenuous attempts to obtain a promise of an American veto on the draft resolution condemning Israel, which is circulating in the UN Security Council. Israeli diplomats are hoping that if the U.S. does not agree to the veto, its representative on the Council would at least abstain.

A suggestion brought up at yesterday's cabinet session by Minister without Portfolio Ezer Weizman that the IDF pull out of the refugee camps in the territories won the support of only one other minister, Energy Minister Moshe Shaleh.

Another Weizman proposal, to send a special emissary to Cairo to

explain the situation in the territories and the nature of the reaction by Israeli security forces, was dismissed by Shamir. This proposal was one of a number submitted to the cabinet by a special Foreign Ministry team which has been grappling with the challenge to Israel's information policies following the turmoil in the areas.

The Foreign Ministry's package, which provoked no reactions from the ministers, dealt with the line to be taken at the UN Security Council, the content of the cabinet statement which was due to follow yesterday's session, and the urgency of applying non-lethal riot-control measures in putting down unrest in the territories.

IDF Chief of General Staff, Rav-Aluf Dan Shomron, who briefed the cabinet on the demonstrations and why the troops had fired live ammunition, said the IDF was considering using equipment and tactics which could reduce casualties. No details were released.

Other briefings were given by the Defence Ministry's Coordinator of Operations in the Territories, Shmuel Goren; by Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev on the weekend riots in Jerusalem, and by Weizman in his capacity as acting Foreign Minister.

The cabinet communiqué, which was a summary of the points made by Shamir, voiced the ministers' support of the security forces in

(Continued on back page)

Security forces brace for first day of mass strike

Israeli Arabs urged to strike peacefully

Unrest likely to flare in areas

By JOEL GREENBERG,
BRADLEY BURSTON
and ANDY COURT
Jerusalem Post Reporters

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH – On the eve of the nationwide strike of Israeli Arabs in solidarity with the Palestinian residents of the territories, local Arab leaders yesterday called on all Arabs to join in the strike, but to keep it peaceful. They urged that the protesters refrain from demonstrations that could spark the kind of violence that has marked the territories during the past fortnight.

Israeli Arab spokesmen also urged the police not to intervene and provoke confrontations that could turn into riots.

The police have reportedly cancelled all leaves for today and increased the number of staff on duty in case of any disturbances.

"We want a full strike, but a peaceful one," declared Suhail Diab, secretary of the Nazareth branch of the New Communist Party (Rakha), and a member of the Histadrut central committee.

His words were echoed by Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, chairman of the national committee of heads of Arab local councils, which, together with the five Arab Knesset Members and other Arab leaders, decided to call the one-day general strike.

"The purpose of the strike is to demonstrate our solidarity with the residents of the territories and to protest against the violence there, not to cause trouble ourselves," said Hussein, who is mayor of Safad.

Tension and fears of possible violent outbreaks have been heightened by the reported arrest of dozens of people, including schoolteachers, in the Nazareth area on charges of inciting youngsters to stage illegal demonstrations. Diab said those detained were released on bail.

It also charged that government offices and a number of factories were putting pressure on Arab workers not to participate in the strike. "We have been informed that all civil service employees, including teachers, headmasters and those who work in government offices have

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Beefed-up security forces are bracing for possible serious unrest in the West Bank and Gaza Strip today, where a general strike has been called in concert with a strike by Israeli Arabs.

In Gaza, pressure on residents not to go to work in Israel intensified yesterday, as demonstrators stoned a bus loaded with commuting workers, ordered them and the driver out and set the bus alight.

In Jerusalem, police arrested 60 Palestinians in the past two days in connection with the recent riots. Last night, an Egged bus driver was lightly injured in the head by a stone.

Stones were also thrown at workers along the highway connecting Gaza city with the Strip's exit to Ashkelon and Tel Aviv. After troops arrived to disperse demonstrators in Seja'iya, they were set upon by protesters who hurled metal bars and cement blocks. Soldiers then opened fire, wounding a 15-year-old in the leg.

The massive effort by Palestinian activists to maximize participation in today's strike was also reflected in the large number of leaflets distributed in Gaza late yesterday.

Handbills signed by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine called for unrest to continue until Israeli authorities agree to a list of demands, including freeing of all security prisoners, administrative detainees, and suspects arrested in the current wave of rioting, and for an end to the "iron fist of the Gaza occupation."

The Islamic Resistance here also distributed leaflets throughout the Gaza Strip, insisting that "resistance can come to an end only when the occupation comes to an end."

Fears had been privately expressed among activists that the some 60,000 Gazans employed in Israel – some of whom have been away from work for as long as 11 days – will break under the financial pressure of supporting large families.

Commuting workers make up most of the region's labour force,

and only a minority of Gaza families can survive economically without Israeli jobs.

Last night, large numbers of Israeli troops were reported moving into the Gaza Strip, an indication, security sources said, that there is to be an unprecedented show of force today in an effort to forestall bloodshed.

In the West Bank, troops shot and wounded five Palestinian protesters, and three Israeli civilians were injured in their cars as disturbances continued in the area despite the inclement weather. Partial commercial strikes were reported in several towns.

In a move to defuse possible centres of protest, the Judea and Samaria Civil Administration ordered all Arab schools in the West Bank closed today and tomorrow, thus leaving some 260,000 pupils at home. The 800 schools to be closed include those run by Unwra.

OC Central Command Aluf Amram Mitzna yesterday ordered the Islamic College in Hebron closed for a month following Saturday's disturbances.

Several West Bank municipalities, including the Nablus city council, have called for a general strike.

Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij hinted yesterday that he may cancel his annual Christmas Eve reception in response to mounting pressure in his town.

Freij said he would inform the city council of his decision today.

Opposition to the reception by local professional and religious leaders is connected to the recent unrest, but the municipality is also concerned about possible violence by protesters outside the reception site.

"We can't live in a vacuum. It's a difficult issue and could have very bad repercussions," Freij said. He added that he saw few tourists yesterday in his town, which is normally bustling during the Christmas season.

Yesterday's worst incident occurred at the Far'a refugee camp in the Nablus area. Military sources said dozens of protesters, including youths whose faces were hidden by keffiyehs, threw rocks and metal objects at troops, and set up stone

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Egyptian statement read to Sasson protests 'brutality' Angry earful for the ambassador

Jerusalem Post Staff
and Agencies

CAIRO – Angered and embarrassed by Israel's killing of Palestinian rioters in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Egypt yesterday stepped up its protests by summoning Israeli Ambassador Moshe Sasson.

Sasson was told of Cairo's distress at what a foreign ministry statement termed "the brutal, oppressive measures taken by Israel against the Palestinian people in the occupied territories."

Read to Sasson by a senior official, the statement demanded an immediate end to firing on Palestinians in order "to avoid the grave dangers threatening the peace process."

It was the fifth public Egyptian statement in eight days on the handling of the turmoil in the administered territories.

Western diplomats said Cairo's reaction appeared to reflect both genuine dismay and horror and, at the same time, a need to be seen to be reacting strongly.

"Israeli action in the West Bank

and Gaza is acutely embarrassing to the Egyptians, because they've been arguing that their relationship with Israel is having a moderating influence on the Israelis," one diplomat said.

Egyptian Deputy Foreign Minister Boutros Ghali told Israel Radio that relations between Egypt and Israel were "as delicate as during the Sabra and Shatila" episode.

According to Egyptian sources, Cairo is under increasing pressure from Arab states – many of which only resumed relations with Egypt last month – to recall its ambassador, an act that MK Eliahu Ben-Elissar, former Israeli ambassador to Cairo, viewed as unlikely. Western diplomats in Cairo also expressed doubts that Cairo would recall Egyptian Ambassador Mohammed Bassiouny.

"We shouldn't panic," Ben-Elissar said last night, describing media reports about a crisis in Egyptian-Israeli relations as "fostering an atmosphere of panic."

He doubted whether Egypt would break the peace agreement and re-

call its ambassador. "What's happening doesn't make things easier, but I don't think they'll go farther," he commented.

Implicit in Ben-Elissar's comments was an attack on acting foreign minister Ezer Weizman, whose proposal that the government send a special ministerial-level emissary to Cairo was rejected by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

Weizman has argued that after last month's Amman summit, Egypt has been moving back into a position of leadership in the Arab world, and Israel, therefore, has a special responsibility to Cairo to keep the peace process alive.

Meanwhile, Hani al-Hassan, a senior aide to PLO chief Yasser Arafat, arrived in Cairo yesterday for previously unannounced talks expected to centre on prospects of a visit by Arafat to Cairo.

The Egyptian government is also gearing up for a visit by Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Abdullah, the first top Saudi official to go to Cairo since relations were restored last month after the Amman summit.

Showdown on budget deferred

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

Yesterday's cabinet decision to put off the vote on next year's proposed state budget prevented a showdown between Labour Party ministers and Finance Minister Moshe Nissim.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who decided on the delay, said the vote was postponed because of a lack of time. The budget was the last item on a very crowded agenda, which included a discussion of the situation in the territories.

But Labour Party sources said after the meeting that Shamir had used the time factor as a convenient way out of a potentially difficult situation. The Labour ministers had asked for a delay of at least one week, arguing they could not vote for the proposed cuts in the Health and Education Ministries, while Nissim demanded that the vote take place immediately.

Shamir allowed six ministers to speak on the budget proposal before he announced his decision. The ministers who spoke were Absorption Minister Ya'acov Tsur, Agriculture Minister Arye Nehamkin, Transport Minister Haim Corfu, Education Minister Yitzhak Navon, and Ministers-without-Portfolio Yitzhak Peretz and Yosef Shapira.

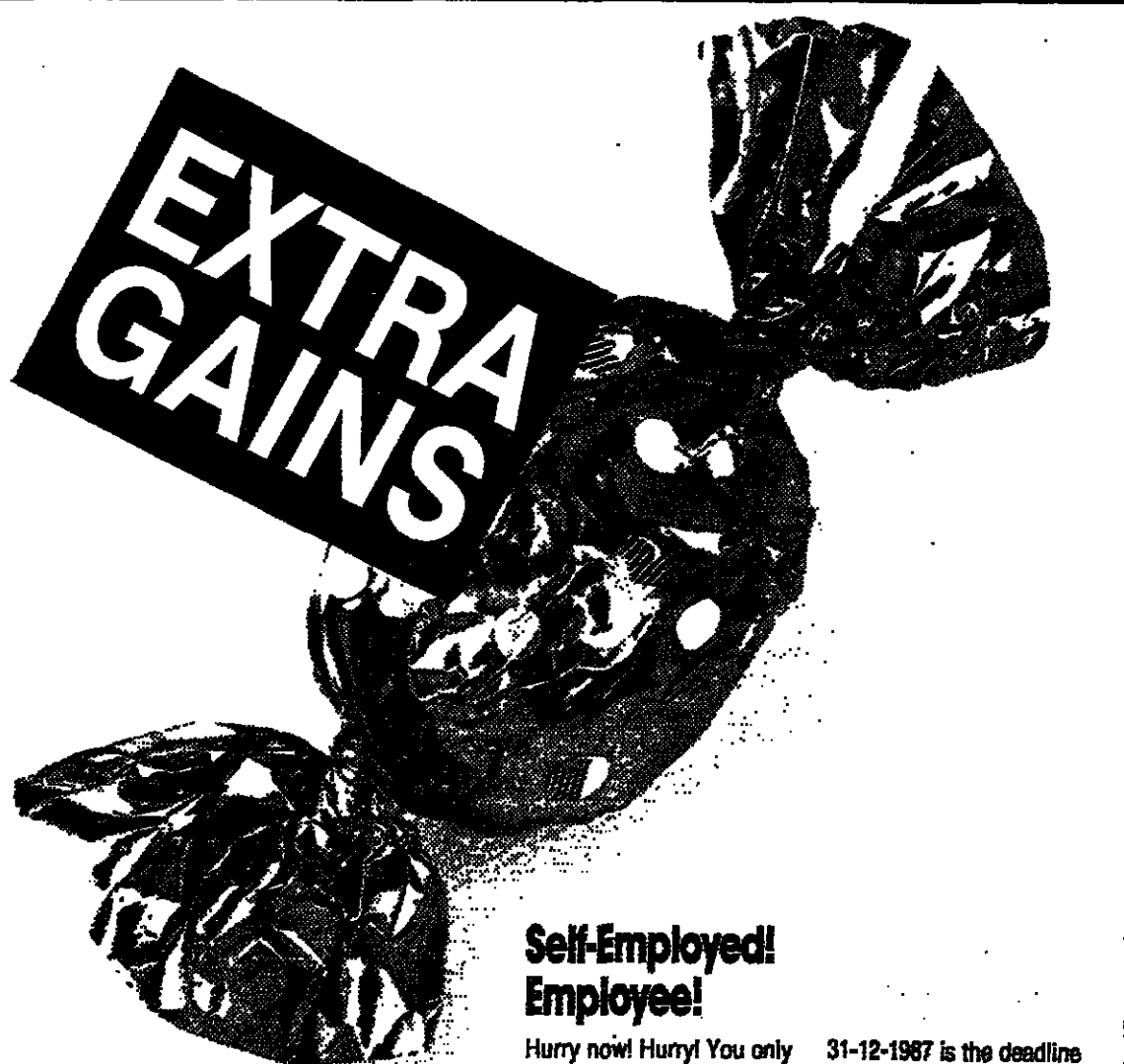
During the meeting, Nissim agreed to hold a separate discussion on a series of Treasury proposals designed to reduce inefficiencies in the public sector. The ministry proposes to close down absorption centres and to have olim go directly to rented flats.

It also wants to close down one medical school, several teachers' colleges and boarding schools. In addition, the ministry wants to eliminate government units, such as the Israel Film Board and the Fibres Institute.

The Treasury wants to reclassify development areas for purposes of government support, a step which could lead to less money for settlements in the administered territories. In addition, it proposes merging small local authorities into larger units.

Nissim said all these measures were not part and parcel of the budget, and could be discussed separately.

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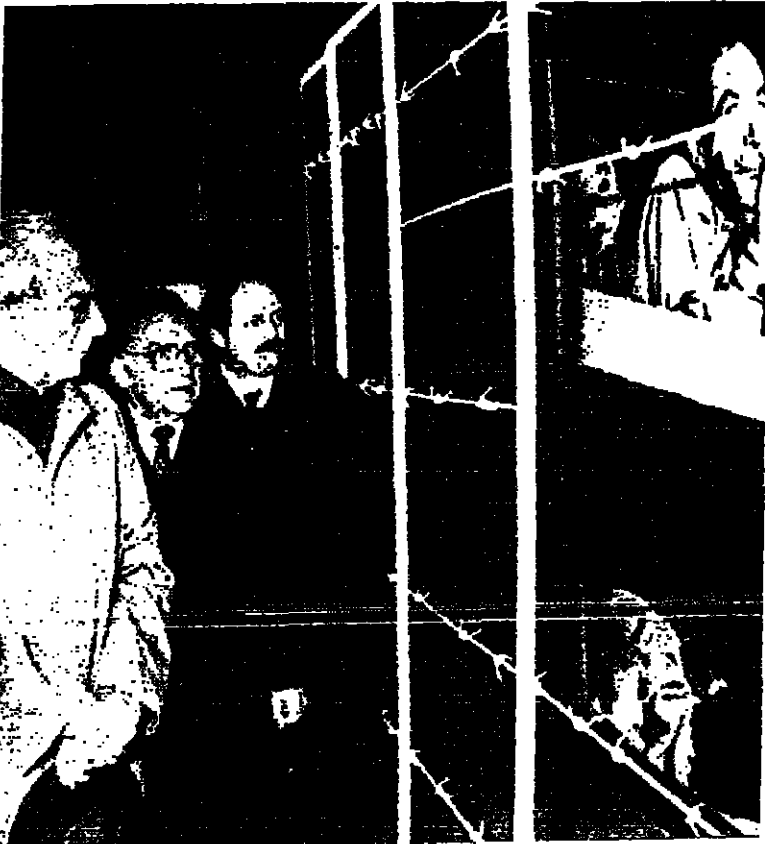
ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK

Sportoto offering all-time high prize

The grand prize of the Sportoto football pools this week will reach at least NIS 1.8 million after nobody correctly guessed the outcome to last Saturday's 14 games.

According to a Sportoto spokesman, it will be the largest grand prize in the history of Israeli football pools. At current interest rates, a single winner of the top-prize could be assured of a monthly income of roughly NIS 30,000.

Have you given?
Hanukkah is here.



Italian President Francesco Cossiga (left) views a mural of concentration camp inmates during his visit yesterday to Yad Vashem's Holocaust Museum in Jerusalem. See story, page 2. (Reuters)

The weather at major Swissair destinations

21.12.87	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	4	11	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	4	11	Cloudy
BUENOS AIRES	14	20	Clear
CHICAGO	2	10	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	7	15	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	7	15	Cloudy
GENEVA	10	16	Clear
HELSINKI	3	10	Cloudy
HONG KONG	17	23	Clear
JERUSALEM	13	20	Cloudy
LONDON	13	18	Cloudy
LONDON	10	12	Cloudy
MADRID	5	11	Cloudy
MONTREAL	-7	-1	Snow
NEW YORK	6	12	Cloudy
OSLO	-10	-4	Cloudy
PARIS	6	12	Cloudy
RIO DE JANEIRO	21	27	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	22	28	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	1	8	Cloudy
TOKYO	4	10	Cloudy
TORONTO	1	8	Cloudy
VIENNA	7	13	Cloudy
ZURICH	9	16	Rain

*For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.

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Beer Sheva: 38 Marabout St. Tel. 05-25252
Cairo: Ben-Gurion Airport Tel. 03-712151

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Break in rain during day, with storms threatening towards evening.

Yesterday's	Today's	Humidity	Min-Max	Min-Max
Jerusalem	88	7-11	13	14
Golan	100	11	14	15
Nahariya	98	11-16	18	19
Safed	99	7-11	13	14
Haifa Port	71	12-18	19	20
Tiberias	84	12-16	19	20
Nazareth	98	10-13	15	16
Afula	85	12-18	19	20
Sharon	94	9-13	15	16
Tel Aviv	89	12-18	19	20
B-G Airport	94	11-15	19	20
Jericho	90	13-18	19	20
Gaza	90	12-17	19	20
Beersheba	79	10-16	20	21
Eilat	79	13-18	20	21

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Dr. Yosef Goell will speak on "Jewish Identity in a Pluralist World" at the meeting of the Tel Aviv branch of the Association of Secular Humanistic Judaism at the Tzavta Club on Rehov Ibn Gvirol at 5:30 p.m. on Wednesday.

Marriage

Gillis-Meyer: The marriage took place in Jerusalem yesterday of Dr. Immanuel Gillis, son of Dr. Aaron and Doreen Gillis, and Tamar, daughter of Ernie and Naomi Meyer.

Italian president 'concerned' about unrest in areas

By JUDY SIEGEL

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Italian President Francesco Cossiga yesterday expressed his "concern" over the disturbances in the territories and their human toll, but stressed his country's "great friendship" with Israel.

In an hour-long meeting with President Herzog at Beit Hanassi, Cossiga said that the friendship between the two countries "requires us to be frank," and that Italy was very concerned about the absence of peace in the Middle East.

He said negotiations were required, but he did not elaborate.

In response, Herzog said the disturbances "should be put in the right perspective." The Palestinian issue had recently been pushed to the back burner, especially at the Arab summit in Amman, where it was relegated to a subcommittee.

Herzog added that the PLO and other extreme groups were trying to bring the Palestinian issue to centre stage and to catch the attention of the Western and Arab worlds. He also commented on the impact of Islamic fundamentalism on Middle Eastern instability.

Israel regrets the loss of life, Herzog added.

Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti was also present at the meeting.

Herzog last night hosted a private dinner for Cossiga and Andreotti, which was attended by Prime Minister Shamir, Supreme Court President Meir Shamgar and other notables. Herzog kindled the Hanukkah candles together with Italian Chief Rabbi Eliahu Toaff before dinner.

22 Soviet Jews arrive

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Twenty-two new immigrants from Moscow, Leningrad and Tallin arrived at Ben-Gurion Airport last night from Vienna.

Among the newcomers was Yosef Radomyskiy, a prominent leader of the refusenik movement in Leningrad. Speaking at an airport press conference, he thanked those in Israel and around the world for their efforts to make his aliyah a reality, but expressed concern for the fate of Soviet Jews still behind the Iron Curtain.

Obituary Notices accepted 24 hours a day

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HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Milo: Strike exploits terror in areas - Arab MKs: Lies

By ELAINE RUTH FLETCHER and DAVID RUDGE

Ronnie Milo, deputy minister for Arab Affairs in the Prime Minister's Office yesterday charged that today's general strike by Israeli Arabs is an attempt by the Communist Rakah and the Progressive List for Peace to "exploit the terror in Judea and Samaria to drive Israeli Arabs to ever more extreme positions."

Meanwhile, Milo's top adviser, Amos Gilboa, said that the Arab Knesset Members who had joined in calling for the strike had expounded themes of violence and bloodshed "that were radical in the extreme" in a meeting with the Arab mayors in Shfaram on Friday.

Gilboa said the Arab MKs had "welcomed" the recent unrest in the territories and quoted them as saying "it is good there are victims. In order to attain victory, blood will have to be spilled."

Gilboa's remarks were termed "lies" by Arab MKs who participated in the meeting.

According to Gilboa, the Arab MKs had also said "the road to independence is paved with victims."

Gilboa did not specify whom he was quoting. But he said that Rakah's Tewfik Zayyad and Tewfik Toubi, Progressive List for Peace's Mohammed Miar, the Alignment's Abdel Wahab Daroushe and Mapam's Mohammed Waddad all had made extremist remarks.

"The most extreme were Miar and Zayyad," added Milo, "while Daroushe and Waddad hadn't contributed to moderating the atmosphere."

Gilboa described the general strike in the Arab Israeli community as an "ominous sign" reflecting a recent rapprochement between Rakah and the PLO. Both Milo and Gilboa said that the National Committee of Heads of Arab Local Councils, which called the strike, had become an instrument of Rakah.

Gilboa's allegations were promptly denounced by officials of Rakah, PLP and by Waddad, of Mapam. Daroushe, who left for Egypt yesterday, could not be reached for comment.

"This is one more lie that people like Amos Gilboa have been feeding the Israeli public," said Waddad. He denied that Arab leaders had welcomed the bloodshed in the territories, and he stressed that today was being

called the "Strike for Peace Day." He also called on Jewish Israelis to express their opposition to events in the territories.

"It is the business of all Israelis to express their feelings towards the inhuman developments in the occupied territories," said Waddad. "It's not only a question of being a Palestinian Arab in Israel. We belong to humanity, and we have to say our piece and to take a position. But Amos Gilboa and his colleagues are too small to understand that," he said.

"In Shfaram, we called for an end to the occupation, mutual recognition between Palestinians and Israelis," said Waddad. "If this is extremism, we are all extremists."

"Officials like Ronnie Milo and that man Amos Gilboa, by their positions, are weakening democracy and the moral fibre of Israel. They think so narrowly that they cannot even imagine what great harm they do to Israel," added Daroushe.

Miar yesterday denied allegations by senior government officials that moderates had been "terrorized" into agreeing to the one-day general strike. He maintained

that the decision to call the strike had been unanimous.

"There was no pressure applied on anybody there, yet nobody opposed the strike," he said yesterday in an interview with *The Jerusalem Post*.

"If the so-called moderates were afraid to speak out and express their feelings at such a democratic meeting then they have no right to be in politics," he added. Miar insisted that the decision taken at the Shfaram meeting and the comments expressed there were an accurate reflection of the feelings of Israel's Arab community in general.

The committee also denied the loss of both Jewish and Arab lives in the unrest and expressed its support for the security forces' attempts to restore order.

Some hotel cancellations reported after disturbances in East Jerusalem

By GREER FAY CASHMAN

Despite disclaimers by the Ministry of Tourism, there have been cancellations of hotel reservations for the Christmas season. However, no clear picture emerged yesterday on how harmful Saturday's rioting in East Jerusalem may be to Christmas tourism. It seemed to depend on to whom you talked.

The Ministry of Tourism continued to insist that in spite of the recent upsurge of violence in the occupied territories and East Jerusalem, there had been no cancellations, at least as far as group tours were concerned.

Hoteliers in both East and West Jerusalem painted a somewhat less rosy picture, but one that was with few exceptions, far from gloomy. Most hotels reported that there had

been no group cancellations, but there had been a slight increase in cancellations of individual reservations.

In a poll of over 20 Jerusalem hotels, *The Jerusalem Post* learned of three group cancellations involving a total of under 100 people.

One West Jerusalem hotel which had been fully booked, will now have to content itself with an 80 per cent occupancy rate. Four- and five-star hotels are on the whole faring well, with occupancies ranging from 80 to 100 per cent. These averages are maintained in three-star hotels in West Jerusalem, but not in East Jerusalem, where there is a sharp drop.

Youssef Abu Latifeh of the Alcazar Hotel described the situation as "abnormal." Last Christmas, his



Tourism Minister Avraham Shafir during a tour yesterday of East Jerusalem. (Zoom 77)

Arafat says he's ready to talk to Israel at int'l conference

By WALTER RUBY

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
NEW YORK - PLO Chief Yasser Arafat said that he is prepared to negotiate with Israel at an international Middle East peace conference.

In an interview conducted last week in Baghdad with *Newsweek's* Christopher Dickey, Arafat remarked, "When I speak of an international conference, with whom [will the PLO negotiate]? With ghosts? I am not going to the international conference to make dialogue with the Syrians or the Libyans or with the Egyptians. I am going to deal with my enemy to

achieve a comprehensive, lasting, just settlement and solution."

Arafat added, "When we say 'all parties concerned in the Middle East conflict,' [we are] including the Israeli government and the PLO."

Arafat said that the PLO believes that the "only way" to resolve the conflict in Gaza and the West Bank "is for the Occupied Territories to be under UN control...for a certain period of time until we arrive at a final comprehensive solution by the international conference or by any means."

But, he admitted that he saw no hope in this idea because the Americans were bound to reject it.

SOLIDARITY STRIKE

(Continued from Page One)

been instructed to report for work as normal on the day of the strike," said Diab.

He claimed that the Egged bus cooperative and a number of private firms, with the exception of Histadrut-owned companies, had threatened their Arab workers with disciplinary action and even dismissal if they failed to report for work as normal this morning.

Diab said they would take "whatever steps are necessary" to resist such attempts at intimidation and to protect the legal rights of workers to democratic protest.

Rakah activists maintained that the PLO's call for a general strike in the territories and in the capitals of the Arab world on the same day that Israeli Arabs would hold their work stoppage, was a sign of support for their action.

The consensus among Israeli Arab

leaders yesterday was that "Strike for Peace Day," as they were calling it, would pass peacefully, despite the concern and tension which has been fuelled by the daily reports of violence in the territories.

At midday, a minute of silence will be observed for all those killed and wounded in the territories in the recent wave of unrest. The aim of the strike, said Nimr Hussein, was to press for a peaceful solution through negotiation to the problem of the territories and the Arab-Israeli conflict in general.

Yesterday, 500 people turned out for a protest march in Umm el-Fahm, organized by the radical political body, Ithra el-Balad (Sons of the Homeland) which is especially strong in that Wadi Ara town of 20,000. The march also drew support from the Progressive List for Peace and from Rakah, with which Mayor Hashem Mahameed is affiliated.

UNREST IN AREAS

(Continued from Page One)

barriers on a road running past the camp.

When the soldiers were unable to disperse the crowd with rubber bullets and tear gas, and were endangered by the rioters, they opened fire to extricate themselves, the sources said. Four persons were wounded in the legs. One was hurt when he was struck by a rubber bullet. Palestinian sources said he was hit in the eye. A curfew was also imposed on the Askar refugee camp near Nablus after similar disturbances.

In Kabatiya in Samaria, a Border Police commander shot and wounded a Palestinian after a petrol bomb was hurled at his patrol. Military sources said the wounded youth had thrown the bomb, and was hospitalized in Afula.

A boy from the settlement of Beit El was hurt in the face by a stone thrown at a car he was riding in near Ramallah.

Two more passengers were hurt when stones were thrown at their car near Bidu village, northwest of Jerusalem, as they travelled from the Har Adar settlement (Givat Haradim) to the city.

Protesters threw stones, burned tyres and blocked roads with rocks in other locations, and partial commercial strikes were reported in Nablus, Jenin, Kalkiya, Tulkarm and Ramallah.

Many of those arrested in Jerusalem were minors, and many came from outside of Jerusalem to participate in the weekend's protests. Jerusalem Police Chief Yosef Yehuda said yesterday.

The cold, rainy weather appeared to help quell disturbances in the

city. But there were still several stone-throwing incidents and one injury.

Nuriel Dai, an Egged bus driver, was lightly injured in the head last night when his bus was stoned on the Shufat Road in north Jerusalem. He was treated at Hadassah Hospital, Mount Scopus, where he was reported in satisfactory condition last night. The bus was damaged.

Police fired tear-gas to disperse protesters who threw stones and blocked the road near the Coca-Cola intersection at Anata, the Jerusalem police spokesman said. Arab youths also set up roadblocks at Wadi Joz and on the road to Jericho, just before el-Azariya.

Some soldiers travelling on an Egged bus fired in the air after the vehicle was stoned near Atarot, in the northern part of the city. No one was injured.

An empty Israeli bus was set on fire last night in Abu Dis near Jerusalem after disturbances were reported at the village earlier in the day. Stones were hurled at Israeli vehicles passing by the Dehaishe refugee camp near Bethlehem.

Some East Jerusalem stores opened yesterday, but most were closed, at least in the morning hours. All stores are expected to be closed during today's general strike.

Yeshiva official's car bombed

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Police are not sure whether criminal or nationalist motives are behind the bombing of a yeshiva administrator's car in Jerusalem yesterday. The bomb was placed under the Renault car, which was gutted when the bomb exploded at 4 a.m.

Ivan Boesky, a man with many friends

By WALTER RUBY

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
NEW YORK - Ivan Boesky, the multi-millionaire Wall Street speculator and Jewish community philanthropist who was sentenced to three years' imprisonment Friday for illegal insider trading, is not a man without friends.

Once a practitioner of the art of arbitrage, making many millions, trading the stocks of companies involved in or rumored to be on the verge of takeover, Boesky appears to have changed profoundly in the 13 months since the Securities and Exchange Commission charged him with insider trading and fined him an unprecedented \$100 million.

Long active in Jewish philanthropy and politics (he was campaign chairman for the United Jewish Appeal-Federation of New York from 1984-86 and was vice president of the National Jewish Coalition, a group with close ties to the Republican Party), Boesky seems to have become religious after being exposed as an inside trader.

He enrolled in a series of courses at the Jewish Theological Seminary, spending much of his time in conversations with rabbis there. Boesky was rejected early this year by a number of Jewish organizations at which he wanted to do volunteer work. The executive director of one such agency, the Jewish Guild for the Blind told *The Jerusalem Post* that the institution had turned Boesky down, because "Our board didn't want our agency to be used by Boesky, so that he could then go to the judge with evidence that he was contrite."

Boesky eventually was accepted as a volunteer at St. John the Divine Cathedral on Manhattan's Upper West Side, where he worked in a rehabilitation programme for homeless men.

Despite the cold shoulder given him by Jewish organizations, a number of leading American Jews agreed to Boesky's request that they write character witness letters on his behalf to Judge Morris Lasker who

had sentenced him.

Among those who did so were Morton Komreich and Ernest Michel, president and executive vice president, respectively, of New York UJA-Federation; Max Fisher, former chairman of the Jewish Agency; David Hermelin, of Israel Bonds; Rabbi Wolfe Kelman, executive director of the Rabbinical Assembly; Broadway impresario Joseph Papp; comedian Sammy Cahn and Claude Lanzmann, director of the film *Shoah*.

A large contribution from Boesky had enabled the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) to broadcast *Shoah* in its entirety.

Kornreich said he had written a letter, because "I don't think it is very Jewish to dwell on his faults and forget the good he had done. Boesky worked hard for our cause."

Cahn, who said Boesky had been "a wonderful friend for over 25 years," said he is saddened by the media's portrayal of Boesky as a creature of tremendous avarice. In fact, Cahn said, "Boesky can be tremendously generous."

He recalled an instance several years ago when he was dispossessed from his New York office after a dispute with Warner Brothers officials. He ran into Boesky on the street and the financier, upon hearing of Cahn's plight, insisted that Cahn set up shop temporarily in an office at Boesky's financial firm.

Cahn demurred, saying that he needed an office with a piano so that he could compose. When Cahn went to Boesky's office several days later to thank the financier, he found that Boesky had had a Steinway grand piano brought into the room. Cahn then moved in for a time with Boesky.

THE SOVIET Union has invited the U.S. to cooperate in an unmanned mission to the planet Mars by modifying a planned U.S. probe to act as a relay satellite for transmission of images to earth, *Aviation Week and Space Technology* says in its December 21 issue.

Army claims rioters get equal medical treatment

BY BRADLEY BURSTON

Jerusalem Post Reporter
BEERSHEBA - Palestinian rioters wounded during the current wave of unrest in Gaza have received medical treatment "in no way inferior" to that given to IDF soldiers, a senior army source said here last night.

"On the contrary, we forcibly entered [Gaza] Shifa Hospital and taken out patients, because the treatment they can expect in Ashkelon or at [Beersheba's] Soroka Hospital is better," the source continued.

Responding to press reports that the Rafiah youth wounded last week after he allegedly stabbed a soldier had died of loss of blood, the source declared that "everything that could have been done for him was done. An IDF medic treated him immediately after he was wounded, a doctor arrived within five minutes, and immediately after he was taken to Ashkelon for surgery."

According to the source, the youth died of complications following the surgery.

The High Court of Justice has issued an order nisi requiring the commander of the IDF forces in the

Gaza area to show cause why he should not release documentation concerning the death of the young man, Atwah Yusuf Samahadana. The court also issued an injunction forbidding the demolition of Samahadana's home.

On the subject of the increasing influence of mosques on Gaza Strip unrest, the source declared that although one of the mosques had been turned into a "fortress," in recent days, no attempt would be made to close mosques or to curtail religious freedom. Petrol bombs and large stones have been thrown at cars from the roof of one of the mosques, the source said. Incidents had taken advantage of IDF policy not to enter mosque grounds, he added.

The source confirmed that between 100 and 120 demonstrators are in custody as a result of recent rioting, and said that official investigations show that 11 Gazans have been killed by IDF fire in the last two weeks.

He placed the number of wounded at "between 30 and 40."

Unofficial Palestinian figures have shown as many as 20 dead and 60 to 100 wounded.

Capucci at PLO demonstration in Rome

By LISA PALMIERI

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
ROME - Monsignor Hilario Capucci made a surprise appearance at a PLO demonstration during the pope's Sunday noon speech yesterday.

A former patriarchal vicar of Jerusalem for the Catholic Melchites, Capucci was sentenced in Israel for smuggling weapons for the PLO in December 1974 and was released in response to Pope Paul VI's request in 1977. Today, he is a PLO council member.

Some 20,000 people were gathered to hear the pope's pre-Christmas message.

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We share in the grief of

Uri Gordon
on the death of his

Mother
Ann and Ted Kanner

On the Yahrzeit of

LOU BOYAR
Jean and Sam Rothberg

Afghan war comes into Soviet homes via TV for first time

MOSCOW (AFP) — The war in Afghanistan has been brought for the first time into Soviet homes through a dramatic televised report of an Afghan government-launched offensive to break a rebel siege of the southwestern town of Khost, analysts said here yesterday.

Westerners watching Saturday night's report which showed Afghan fighters firing mortar shells towards the barren hills where 9,000 U.S.-backed rebels were said to be based, could not fail to draw a parallel with the Vietnam war. Media coverage in the U.S. was a factor in ending that conflict.

Soviet officials publicly fight shy of comparisons with Vietnam, insisting that the 115,000 Soviet troops propping up the government of Afghan president Najibullah were invited into Afghanistan by the Afghan authorities.

But Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuri Vorontsov has been quoted in western press reports as being "obsessed" by comparisons between the Afghan and Vietnam conflicts. He has particularly said he does not want supporters of the Sovi-

et-backed government to be brought out of Kabul "on the struts of helicopters," in a reference to the U.S. evacuation after the fall of Saigon.

Soviet television's Kabul correspondent, in the report from outside Khost, admitted that the rebels had controlled the town for many years. The reporter said the inhabitants of the town, near the border with Pakistan, had been the "hostages of the counter-revolution for practically nine years."

Accounts of the war in Soviet media have until now avoided specifics on which side is actually winning the war, although Soviet officials have admitted that the rebels' use of U.S.-supplied Stinger missiles has led to "increased casualties" on the government side.

In the view of western diplomats, deliveries of the shoulder-fired Stinger ground-to-air missiles this year enabled the rebels to gain the upper hand, and forced the Soviet-backed government to abandon helicopter-led operations.

Najibullah himself, in a speech to a conference of the ruling Afghan People's Democratic Party in October, indicated that the government

only controlled one third of Afghanistan's territory — an indication that the Mujahideen held the remaining two-thirds.

The decision to show the on-the-spot report from near Khost appeared to be part of a move on the part of Soviet authorities to prepare the public for a possible pull-out by Soviet troops.

Media coverage has in recent months begun to stress the hardships faced by Soviet soldiers serving there, and Soviet veterans of the Afghan war have been pressing for public recognition of their plight.

But an article in yesterday's Pravda, discussing a political settlement to the Afghan conflict, reaffirmed that the withdrawal of the Soviet troops over a 12-month period or less depended on Washington ending its support to the rebel groups.

UN mediator Diego Cordovez is currently embarking on a new shuttle mission between Kabul and Islamabad, but progress appears unlikely after Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan failed to announce a breakthrough on the problem during the recent Washington summit.



South Korean riot police fire tear-gas yesterday to disperse anti-government protesters in the southwest city of Kwangju, where 2,000 demonstrated against the alleged rigging of Wednesday's presidential poll and attacked police with firebombs and stones. (Reuters)

S. Korean poll leaves opposition in shambles

SEOUL (Reuters) — South Korea's fragmented opposition is in a shambles after its defeat in last week's presidential election while the ruling party is already preparing for general elections next year. Political analysts say, "We want to start negotiations on revising parliamentary election laws, even next week, but the problem is that the opposition is not prepared for anything constructive yet," an official of the Democratic Justice Party told reporters yesterday.

The opposition, led by unsuccessful presidential candidates Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung, has brushed aside post-election overtures from the Government Party and vowed to topple its chief, Roh Tae Woo, as president-elect.

Both Kims and dissidents accuse Roh of stealing the election through nationwide poll-rigging, a charge denied by the ruling camp.

While still suffering from a seemingly irrevocable rupture between the two Kims, the opposition rejected calls from Roh, President Chun Doo Hwan's protégé, to meet him as soon as possible to discuss democratic reform and "national reconciliation."

Opposition forces, demanding the nullification of the election, pledged to thwart the handover of power next February when Chun steps down at the end of a seven-year mandate given him by a small electoral college.

Wednesday's election was South Korea's first direct, open presidential vote for 16 years.

The two Kims have come under increasing fire from the media and former supporters for failing to settle on a single candidate against a strong government contender. If they had agreed, critics note, an opposition victory would have been a foregone conclusion with its call for an end to what it says is military rule.

Young mavericks in the opposition have already started a campaign against the two Kims and have pledged to build their group into a viable force for "new generation politics."

The parliamentary elections are scheduled for between February and April under a bipartisan agreement last year.

"The opposition should work very hard and fast if they want to repeat their successes of the 1985 general elections," political analyst and Seoul University professor Kim Sang Kook said. In 1985, Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam collaborated and stunned the government when their hurriedly-formed party emerged as the main parliamentary opposition.

Making monkey of man

TOKYO — An orang-utan cage at a Tokyo zoo was broken into by a 29-year-old Japanese man with a history of mental diseases who subsequently fought with a female orang-utan and suffered a broken finger and heel, police report.

Police quoted the man as saying that he had long wanted to fight an orang-utan but that he lost the fight as his "karate chops" were not effective.

East Germans reinforce Berlin Wall

BERLIN (AP) — East German workers on Saturday lifted new concrete barriers into place along a key stretch of the Berlin Wall, the second major reinforcement of the area in a week. West German police said a team of workers using cranes erected the heavy, prefabricated panels along the wall that forms a half-circle around the front of the Brandenburg Gate.

Earlier, East German troops poured a knee-high concrete base in front of the 250-metre stretch of the wall near the gate. Workers began fastening the new concrete slabs onto the base on Wednesday. The barriers replace wooden and plastic panels that had been the targets of frequent arson attacks.

Police said another team of workers using a crane installed concrete panels along a 100-metre stretch of the barrier near the Neukölln District of West Berlin.

The Berlin Wall, constructed by East Germany in 1961, separates East Berlin from West Berlin and rings West Berlin's border with East Germany. West Berlin is located 180 kilometres inside East German territory.

West German Chancellor chief Wolfgang Schäuble condemned the new construction efforts, calling them "a poor signal." "Frankly, I don't understand why this is going on at a time when we are jointly trying to lessen the division between us," Schäuble said.

"If they (East German officials) think something new should be done with the wall, then they should tear it down instead of making it higher and stronger," he said.

IN BRIEF

NO ENTRY VISAS are needed any longer by nationals of Arab states which have recently resumed diplomatic relations with Egypt. Visitors from the nine countries involved will be allowed an unrestricted six-month stay in Egypt, a senior Interior Ministry official told the Middle East news agency.

AN UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR explosion with a yield of up to 20 kilotons was carried out yesterday for scientific purposes at the Soviet Union's Semipalatinsk test range in the Central Asian republic of Kazakhstan. Tass news agency announced.

EIGHTEEN PEOPLE were killed and seven injured in an explosion at a fireworks factory in eastern China, the People's Daily reported yesterday. The explosion Friday, which the paper said was caused by a worker's negligence, completely destroyed the plant in Yongxin Jiangxi province.

Baghdad and Teheran both claim successes

NICOSIA (AP) — Iraq said yesterday that its forces crushed an offensive by Iranian soldiers north of Basra, but Iran said it killed hundreds of Iraqis in a hit-and-run raid by Revolutionary Guards.

Reports by both sides of the relatively small number of combatants involved indicated this was not the long-heralded major offensive that Iran reportedly has been planning

for months. The official Iraqi news agency quoted a military communiqué as saying two Iranian brigades, a maximum of 6,000 soldiers, were defeated in the battle on Saturday.

Iraqi forces left "the enemy yelling and desperately looking for help to have its dead and wounded evacuated" in the Zobeidat area, the agency said.

Iran's Islamic Republic News Agency confirmed the fighting in

that region but denied that Iranian army forces were involved. It said "Iranian Moslem combatants," a reference to Revolutionary Guards, killed hundreds of Iraqi troops in a "blitz," a word Iran uses to describe hit-and-run raids.

The agency quoted an "informed military source" as dismissing Iraqi claims of destroying two brigades and saying that brigades are never assigned "for such a raid."

Washington takes up Silkworm sales with Peking

By JONATHAN MIRSKY
WASHINGTON — "If a Chinese-made Silkworm hits an American ship in the Gulf and kills American boys this country will go berserk." This is the opinion expressed by a senior American official here.

The issue of Chinese weapons sales to Iran — this administration is not concerned about similar sales to Iraq — has now reached very near the pinnacle of Sino-U.S. discussions. Last month in Peking, Under-Secretary of State Michael Armacost told the Chinese flatly that the trade must stop, and placed in front of them photographic evidence of Chinese ships leaving port laden with Silkworm surface-to-air missiles and arriving at Bandar Abbas on the Gulf.

The Chinese denied the charge, although they are now admitting that Silkworms may be reaching Iran through what they term "third countries," although they refuse to say how the third countries themselves received the weapons.

Peking's envoys to the United Nations were started in late October when Kuwait's representative placed in front of them Silkworm fragments with Chinese markings, retrieved from the Iranian attacks on Kuwaiti oil installations and a registered tanker sailing under American convoy. An American official, especially interested in military matters concerning China said "one Chinese diplomat practically wet his pants when he saw those markings."

The American view is unambiguous. "It's very simple," said a State Department man, "we don't want Iran to win this war. They're getting 60 per cent of all their arms from China, not just the Silkworms. We don't care about the sales to Iraq. They're losing and they want the

war to stop. This is a neutralistic matter for us, very important, very strategic. It's about our ultimate position in the Gulf."

Washington officials have various explanations for why Peking continues to deny the sales and why it may continue them despite U.S. pressure. "It's sheer greed," says a senior American official. "Never underestimate that. The Chinese army is doing the selling; it amounts to at least \$1 billion per year, big money in China." A defence analyst adds, "The Chinese have only recently entered the international arms game. Of course lots of people have sold to Tehran. But China is very smooth at it."

The Americans admit the Chinese have accused them of hypocrisy for demanding an end to arms sales after they themselves gave weapons to Tehran in exchange for hostages. "We don't deny that," says an official familiar with the discussions in Peking. "We say it was dumb and that now it's time to move on and stop all sales to end the war."

The ultimate American explanation for the Chinese arms sales to Iran is based on what a top leader in Peking recently told an American who has been visiting China since the early Seventies. According to this report, the Chinese are attempting to establish a bridgehead on Russia's Iranian flank "for after Khomeini goes."

The U.S. has already made plain to Peking that whatever Peking's own strategic needs, further arms

shipments to Iran will not be tolerated. Already, high-technology sales of American computers and "non-lethal defence items" to China have been suspended. This is a sensitive subject between the two countries.

Although President Carter had promised Deng Xiaoping during his January 1980 visit to Washington that the U.S. would help upgrade Chinese technology, the sales were blocked by the Pentagon until 1984, and resumed only after both Secretaries of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger had been personally warned by Deng that the *de facto* embargo was crippling Sino-U.S. relations. Now the U.S. has again stopped the sales and China has protested only weakly. "They know we've got them on this one," says an official.

But there is more to this confrontation than American demarches. If one of Iran's 75 Silkworms, with its 1100-pound warhead and 50-mile range, finds an American vessel, not simply a flat-carrier, the consequences will be dire indeed.

"We don't debate them on this," says one of the officials who has negotiated with the Chinese on the Iran issue. "We've told them exactly what will happen immediately. We said that if one of our ships is hit by a Silkworm that will endanger the entire American commercial and defence arrangement with China. That's the centre of our relationship. They know they can't modernize without us."

(London Observer Service.)

Downed pilot meets Hussein

AMMAN (Reuters) — A British pilot forced to make an emergency landing on a road in southern Jordan while trying to fly a microlight plane from Britain to Australia yesterday met King Hussein.

A palace spokesman said Brian Milton told the king and his son, Prince Abdullah, about his bid to fly the 150-kg Dalgaty Flier from London to Darwin in 30 days. Milton said his tiny white-and-orange plane, which arrived in Amman yesterday, developed engine trouble an hour after leaving the Red Sea port of Aqaba on Saturday because of a refuelling error.

The engines began sputtering and my heart was thumping," he said. "I spotted a road, circled lower and lower, and landed after waiting for a truck to pass." He said his main worry was whether his 9.75-metre wingspan would clear telegraph poles lining the highway.

A Jordanian maintenance crew and medical teams flew to his rescue in military helicopters from Amman.

Milton, a former journalist and hang-gliding instructor from Bristol, left London's New Docklands Airport on December 7 to fly to Australia in 30 days to commemorate a 1919 air race.

'Pretoria arrests three soldiers for spying'

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters) — The South African military said three soldiers had been arrested on unspecified charges under the country's Defence Act and a local newspaper reported yesterday they were being held for spying.

South African Defence Force liaison officer Colonel H.R. Sempfle confirmed that the police and military will conduct a joint investigation into "alleged irregularities" under the act. He declined to name the soldiers or elaborate on the charges.

The Johannesburg Sunday Times described the investigation as "a major spy probe" and quoted unnamed sources as saying the three men, all doing compulsory military service, worked in a "high security intelligence section" of an army base in Cape Town.

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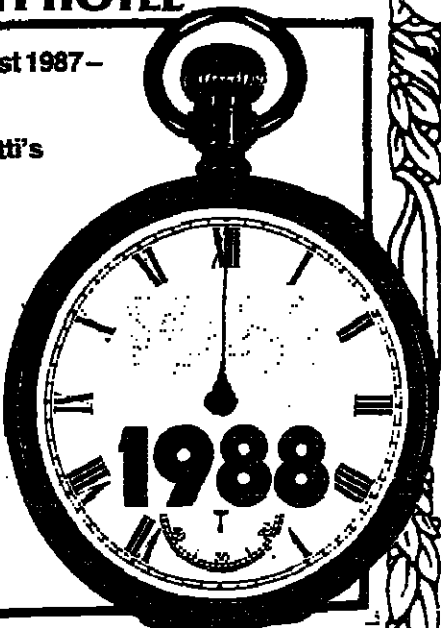
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Settlers keeping a low profile on unrest in areas

By JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Jewish settlers in the territories have kept an uncharacteristically low profile during the recent wave of violent Palestinian unrest in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

In previous months, incidents of stone-throwing and hurling of petrol bombs would often elicit an outcry and accusations that the IDF was not doing enough to ensure the safety of Jews in the territories. Now, when barrages of stones and petrol bombs are being thrown at cars and troops, not a complaint is heard. The settlers appear to realize that in the crunch, in the face of major violence, only the IDF can assure their continued presence in the area.

The settlers' leaders say they have kept quiet because they sincerely believe the army is doing its job, and has the situation under control. "In the past, there were dangerous political declarations. We felt abandoned and that our lives were threatened," said Pinhas Wallerstein, head of the Binyamin Local Council. "Now the army has created a feeling of security. There's a feeling that someone is taking charge of the situation. We don't see any reason to act."

The sense of cooperation instead of confrontation with the IDF was evident last week when the settlers' leaders in the West Bank went to Central Command headquarters to discuss the situation with the commanding officer, Major-General Amram Mitzna.

Shilo Gal, chairman of the Council of Settlements in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District, insists that the current wave of riots is not qualitatively different from those that preceded it. He rejects any idea that a civil revolt is under way.

Wallerstein concedes that the duration of the disturbances is "worry-

ing," but argues that the intensity of the turmoil in the West Bank is far less than previously. "This is not an organized uprising of all sectors of the population, men, women and children, like we saw in 1981, but rather demonstrations, mainly of youngsters, who are coercing shopkeepers to shut their shops."

Both Gal and Wallerstein say that life in the settlements has not been changed by the unrest. Residents, including children, are travelling freely on the roads on the way to work and school. Local services have not been affected and no new security measures have been taken at the settlements, they say.

Avner Shimoni, secretary of the Gaza Coast Regional Council, said the settlers feel even safer now, because of the beefed-up presence of security forces on the roads.

The key to putting down the current unrest, according to the settlers, is a clear statement to the Arab population that Israel intends to keep the territories under its sovereignty. "The problems have arisen, because we are not sending a clear message and the Arab population is confused," said Shimoni. "Shimon Peres's talk of demilitarizing the Gaza Strip is what led to the riots, not a road accident or anything else. The inciters are too sophisticated for that. People are confused, and wondering how they will manage if the area returns to Egyptian rule."

Gal said: "The Arabs have never accepted life under Israeli rule, neither in Galilee and Jaffa, nor in Judea and Samaria. This is not new. The minute a political decision is taken that we are not moving out, things will be clear up and it will be all over."

"Just as ways have been found to co-exist in Galilee, ways will be found to do so here," he said.



Armed patrols were in much greater evidence in East Jerusalem yesterday, following Saturday's disturbances in which Arab youths rioted and attacked a number of Israeli institutions in different parts of the city. (AFP telephoto)

In East Jerusalem, a desire to return to business as usual

By ANDY COURT

When Barclays Discount Bank in East Jerusalem opened for business this morning, it was a little chillier than usual inside. Probably because of the absence of the pane of glass which normally separates the bank from the sidewalk outside.

The bank tellers and the branch manager were, nonetheless, handling transactions as if nothing had happened.

That seemed to be the prevailing sentiment, too, yesterday at other places hit on Saturday: a desire to get back to business while picking up the shattered pieces.

At the Mishkenot Haro'im restaurant in East Talpait, a cold wind came in through the empty window frames and blew over the steamtables full of simmering food.

"You want meat, we've got meat. You want chicken, we've got chicken," said Shabtai Brill, co-owner of the tourist complex located between the UN headquarters and the Arab village of Jebel Mukaber.

The only thing that Brill did not have yesterday was customers. For this, he mainly blamed the media, who reported yesterday that the restaurant had been burned down and ransacked, creating the impression that the restaurant would be closed for some time.

In fact, only a watchman's shack and some storehouses were torched. The interior of the restaurant was not seriously damaged. The wide windows, offering an excellent view of the desert mountains and the Mount of Olives, will be fixed by this morning and the restaurant open for business as usual, Brill said.

"The journalists did more damage to us than the rioters did," he said.

Only three days before the attack on the restaurant, youths had thrown stones and broken some 70 windowpanes, which Brill immediately fixed only to have them smashed again.

It will cost about NIS 30,000 to repair the damage this time, he estimated.

Eli Mayo, chief security officer at Barclays Discount Bank, said the damage to the East Jerusalem branch probably exceeds NIS 50,000. Damage was also done to the Bank Hapoalim and Bank Leumi branches in East Jerusalem.

The places attacked were the nearest and most vulnerable symbols of Israeli rule in the Arab part of the city, observers said. But those who carried away the debris and fixed the windows were nearly all Arab workmen.

Sense of urgency and frustration at Neveh Shalom

By ELAINE RUTH FLETCHER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

When Neveh Shalom member Ilan Frisch picked up school counselor Marwan Darwish yesterday morning, Frisch told Darwish he was going into the reserves in three days.

"I hope you won't go to the West Bank," Darwish told him.

Frisch said he hoped he would be sent to the Negev.

Neveh Shalom is an Arab-Jewish settlement.

The men recalled the conversation when four Neveh Shalom members spoke about the unrest in the territories, in tones as gloomy as the rain that poured down on the rocky landscape near the Latrun interchange.

The members of the settlement and the staff of its school for peace say that the disturbances haven't really harmed relations among them. Although they deal with the Jewish-Palestinian conflict daily, they say they are frustrated and pessimistic, because the general public apparently doesn't share their sense of urgency about the problems in the territories.

"What bothers me is our inability to put these views on the public agenda," said Frisch, who administers Neveh Shalom's farm.

Frisch recalled a visit last weekend to his parents in a settlement near Beit She'an, where veteran kibbutzniks had little to say about the recent disturbances.

"There was a feeling that this is only another escalation of violence, and once it has passed, the military administration of the West Bank and Gaza can continue for another 20 years," he said.

As the disturbances enter their second week, the public may only

now be waking up to the fact that they are different from past incidents, the Neveh Shalom members said. The real question, they claim, is whether such new awareness will lead to a re-evaluation of the military occupation. The unrest may lead to a stronger "iron fist" policy on the West Bank, said Frisch pessimistically.

On the other hand, said Ariela Bairey, a Neveh Shalom resident and counselor in the school for peace, the recent disturbances could awaken Israelis to the fact that the status quo on the West Bank and Gaza can't continue forever.

Added Eitan Kramer, treasurer of the settlement: "It will be difficult for Israelis in Tel Aviv to recognize that Palestinians have rights if they (the Israelis) don't feel the pain and pay a heavy price."

But since the settlement's prime mission is educational, not political, the members also feel their hands are tied in the current crisis, added Kramer.

"You are working on a situation whose results will be seen in 10 to 20 years," he said.

"We are trying to build, in a small way, ties that are non-violent, negotiations, dialogue between Jews and Palestinians," said Frisch. "But with such a violent and difficult reality, you get the feeling you are working in a vacuum."

The counselors in the school for peace are now bracing themselves for the next Arab-Jewish seminar scheduled to begin in a few days.

"We expect it to be very difficult," said Bairey. "The Arabs will feel that this dialogue cannot change their situation. The Jews will question whether there is anyone to talk to."

This is a silly little love story from Tel Aviv about an officer who rides a motorcycle and a waitress who wants to be an actress.

When the officer — who fought in a number of battles that are usually described as "operations" and several of which are still as secret to the public as the name of the chief of the Mossad — got out of the army, he bought a motorcycle.

Before the army he had a motorbike, which is a completely different thing from a motorcycle. A motorbike is a Banger compared to the magnificence of a motorcycle. That's the kind of comparison he might make.

Pretty soon the motorcycle he bought wasn't fast enough for his needs, which he says are the same as his wants: "You don't need a fast bike, you want a fast bike, and once you want one, you need one." He says things like that with a controlled and somewhat endearing stammer that may be a result of some childhood trauma or of something he must have seen in the days

when he was in the army as a very talented soldier.

A few years went by and either he or his motorcycle made deep impressions on several Tel Aviv women who were just past being girls. Then, one day he met the waitress.

She was from a moshav far, far away from the city. She had come to the city the first time alone when she was 17, just before she went into the army. She had hitchhiked, with an utterly dedicated naïveté that made her oblivious to any possible danger, someone like her might encounter, on the roads from that moshav far, far away from the city.

She only spent a day in the city that time, and soon afterwards was in the army, which she finished at about the same time that the officer, who is tall and broader in the shoulders than he is in the waist, began to be bored with the deep impressions he had made on various Tel Aviv women whom he had tempted into riding on the back of his motorcycle.

Wanting to become an actress,

the woman just out of the army and girlhood got a job as a waitress in what is called a "pub" in Tel Aviv. She reckoned that she could work at night and take classes during the day.

One night, the officer rode up to the pub, parked his motorcycle and after plunking his helmet down on the bar counter, he saw the waitress. Without exaggeration it could be said that even in a pub crowded with various show business people and fashion people and even a few general media people, she stood out, partly because instead of a showbusiness smile or fashion or even general media smile, her smile was real.

The officer nursed several beers until five o'clock in the morning, when the pub closed, and offered to give the waitress a ride home. Since unlike so many other men who had noticed her, the officer had not said one word to her the entire evening, she accepted his offer.

The ride, as the officer knew it would, made a deep impression upon her. It was the first time she had been on a motorcycle, which at any speed seems fast for a first-time rider.

The officer, who grew up in Tel Aviv and had met a couple of defence ministers and quite a number of terrorists in his time, had gone to university and in general was pretty sophisticated. The waitress, on the other hand, was so utterly lacking in

sophistication that it was bound to be love at first ride.

But, as is often the case with tough guys, or at least guys who think of themselves as tough, it was

very difficult for the officer to admit to her, and perhaps more importantly, to himself, that he was indeed in love with her.

They lived together for about six months. Every night she worked he would sit at the pub bar, nursing a beer and watching her and then at dawn take her home to his place.

And that was not something that

the motorcycle rider even considered.

As happens in such situations, it took a little while but eventually the waitress decided to move out of the officer's flat.

And as happens in such situations, after some time, the officer realized that he did love her, and that he ought to tell her.

But as too often happens in such situations, it was too late. She had meanwhile met someone else, a musician in a rock and roll band, and

The officer offered up his love, offered up his family name, offered up everything he could think of that might entreat her to marry him instead of the musician.

But it really was too late, and she married the musician.

That was almost a year ago and the officer is still in love. He goes out at night to various places hoping to see the waitress, who is now a married woman and, therefore, no

longer a waitress.

One night, a few days ago, he saw her. He was at an all-night pool hall, off Mograbi. The officer was sitting at the bar in the art deco-decorated dive, and suddenly there was a tap on his shoulder.

She said, he recalled afterwards while telling his sad tale to a friend, "Meanwhile, I'm still happy."

It was her use of the word "meanwhile" that gave him hope. After awhile, she left with her husband

and the officer stayed all night drinking tequila and writing her name on the paper side of the silver foil that comes in a cigarette box.

His friends, of course, have given up worrying about him. They've fixed him up with various other young women, pointed out to him possible replacements for the waitress. But he says she is one in a billion, which presumably means that as far as he's concerned, there are only three other people just like her on the entire planet.

Love in the fast lane

Tel Aviv Tel Aviv
Robert Rosenberg

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and the officer stayed all night drinking tequila and writing her name on the paper side of the silver foil that comes in a cigarette box.

Correction
Christmas Services at Christ Church
(opposite David's Citadel)
Oldest Anglican Church in the Middle East

Dec. 20, 7:00 p.m. Lessons and Carols
Dec. 24, 10:45 p.m. Christmas Eve Holy Communion
Dec. 25, 11:00 a.m. Christmas Day Family Communion
Dec. 27, 9:30 a.m. Family Communion
7:00 p.m. Evening Worship
Dec. 31, 11:00 p.m. New Year's Eve Service

In the previous publication of this notice, some times were given incorrectly

TODAY'S ENTERTAINMENT

TELEVISION

EDUCATIONAL KIP
9:00 Telecast: 9:00 Kip Fit 9.15 Rehov Sumsum 9.45 Zoo Family 10.15 Sdg of the Dump (part 3) 10.45 This is It 11.30 The Bullfighter 12.20 Ghosts Dance 14.00 Telecast: 14.00 Contact 14.35 Making Magic 15.00 Family Problems 15.20 Kip Fit 15.50 Telecast: 16.00 The Prisoner (part 5) 17.00 A New Evening — live magazine

ISRAELI TV CHANNEL 2
CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMES:
17.30 The Care Bears 17.55 Hoppy Hay
ARABIC LANGUAGE PROGRAMMES:
18.30 News roundup 18.32 Programme Trailer 18.35 Sports 19.30 News

HEBREW PROGRAMMES resume at 20.00 with a news roundup
20.02 Lighting of the 7th Hanukkah Light
20.06 North and South: Part 9 of a 24-part American drama series
21.00 Mabat Newsweek
21.35 Head of the Class — comedy series
22.00 This is the Time
22.50 Inspector Morse — British suspense series
23.35 News

JORDAN TV (unofficial)
17.30 Cartoons 18.00 French Hour 19.30 News in Hebrew 20.00 News in Arabic 20.30 Kate and Allie 21.10 Falcon Crest 22.00 News in English 22.30 A Killing on the Exchange

MIDDLE EAST TV
12.30 Another Life 14.00 700 Club 14.30 Shape-Up 15.00 Muppet Babies 15.30 Super Book 16.00 Fraggle Rock 16.30 Afternoon Movie: She Couldn't Say No 16.50 Happy Days 18.30 Laverne & Shirley 19.00 News 20.00 Magnum P.I. 21.00 Monday Night Football 23.00 700 Club 23.30 Another Life

RADIO

VOICE OF MUSIC
6.02 Morning Melodies 7.09 Resplendi: Ancient Airs and Dances; Saffari: Piano Concerto; Beethoven: Sonata No.2 for Cello and Piano; Schubert: "Rosamunde"
Wien: Sereade for Strings; Reinecke: Sonata; Haydn:

Concerto for Organ and Orchestra; Dvorak: String Quintet; Bach: Cantata No.4; Mahler: Symphony No.9 12.00 Mozart: Adagio and Rondo; Mendelssohn: Songs without words; Ravel: Duo for Violin and Cello; Debussy: Etude; Liszt: Etude 13.05 Bach: Sonata for Viola da Gamba; Campra: Cantata; Haydn: Concerto for Violin and Harpsichord; Rossini: Sonata for Strings; Liszt: Hungarian Fantasy; Chopin: "Les Sylphides" 15.00 Music Appreciation 16.00 Israel Philharmonic Orchestra under Eliyahu Inbal — Partos: Concertino for Strings; Schumann: Cello Concerto; Mahler: Symphony No.4 18.00 Emphasis on the Performance 19.00 Among Friends 20.10 Musical medley 20.30 Simon Baroni, piano recital — Homage to Rubinstein — Liszt: Hungarian Rhapsody No.2; Scriabin: Sonata No.5; Brahms: Paganini Variations; Ravel: "Gaspard de la Nuit"; Chopin: Andante Spianato and Polonaise Brillante 23.00 C.P.E. Bach: Concerto; Haydn: Symphonies

RADIO 1st
6.03 Programmes for Olini 7.30 Programme in Easy Hebrew 8.05 Compass 8.27 The Demjanjuk Trial 13.30 News in French 13.45 News in English 14.05 Children's programmes 15.27 Evening News 15.57 The Demjanjuk Trial 19.10 The Mishra Parion for today 19.20 Bible Reading 19.30 Programmes for Olini 22.05 Radio Drama 23.15 Hebrew songs

RADIO 2nd
6.04 Editorial Review 6.10 Gymnastics 6.30 News roundup 6.52 Green Light — drivers' corner 7.00 This Morning — news magazine 8.05 Meeting an issue 9.05 Children's programme 10.05 All Shades of the Network 12.10 O.K. on Two 13.00 Midday — news commentary, 14.05 Arts and Culture Magazine 14.30 Humour 15.05 Israeli songs 16.05 Economic Magazine 17.05 Magic Moments 18.11 Songs and Readings for Hanukkah 18.45 Sports 19.00 Today — radio news 19.35 Law and Justice Magazine 20.05 Cantorial Hit Parade 22.05 Quizzes 00.15 Jazz and More

ARMY
6.05 University on the Air 6.30 Open Your Eyes — songs, Information 7.07 "707" 8.00 Good Morning Israel 9.05 In the Morning 10.05 Hebrew songs 11.05 Right Now 13.05 Daily songs 14.05 Daily Meeting 15.05 Festival songs 16.05 Four in the Afternoon 17.00 Evening News 18.05 IDF snipers 19.05 Hebrew songs 20.05 Books Gentlemen, Books 21.00 Mabat — TV news 21.30 University on the Air (repeat) 22.05 Popular songs 23.05 The 24th Hour 00.05 Night Birds — songs, chat

ARMY TWO
19.05 Radio Radio 20.05 Sports Magazine 22.05 Coffee Break 23.05 All That Jazz

CINEMA PERFORMANCES

JERUSALEM
Belit Agmon: The Wizard of Oz 4; Hair 6; The Gods Must Be Crazy 8; The Meaning of Life 10; Diamonds are Forever, midnight; The New Best Thing: Movie; A Day at the Races 4; Young Sherlock Holmes 7; The Third Generation 9:30; A Slave of Love 9:30; Eden: The Skipper 4:30, 7, 9:30; Edmond: Dirty Dancing 4:30, 7, 9:30; Beverly Hills Cop 10:30; Helena: Cinema Empire: Closed for renovations; Jerusalem Theatre: Manon 7, 9:30; Jean de Florette 4:30; Kfir: No Way Out 4:30, 7, 9:15; Aladdin 10:30; Mischka: Spaceballs 1:15, 3:45; The Last Emperor 5:30, 8:30; Dumbo 10:30, 12:30, 4:00; Orion 9:30; The Beauty of Sin 4:30, 7, 9:15; Orion 9:30; The Heavenly Kid 4:30, 7, 9:15; Orion 9:30; Die Flamme Frau 4:30, 6:45, 8:45; Orion 9:30; The Revenge 4:30, 6:45, 8:45; Orion 9:30; The Untouchables 4:30, 6:45, 8:45; E.T. 4:30; Orion: Inner Space 4:30, 6:45, 8:45, 9:15; Ron: Crocodile Dundee 10:30; Ishtar 4:30, 7, 9:00; Semtex: Pick up Your Ears 7, 9:15

TEL AVIV
Belit Agmon: 11:15; Ben-Yehuda: Beauty and the Beast 11; The Skipper 4:30, 7, 9:30; Beth Hefez: The Righteous Energy (Wed. at 8); Chen 1: Inner Space 5, 7:25, 9:50; Million Dollar Duck 10:30, 12:30, 2:30; Chen 2: Full Met at Jaxxon 7:25, 9:50; Chen 3: Bilbi 10:30, 12:30, 2:30; Million Dollar Duck: Bedroom Window 7:30, 9:55; Chen 4: Pete's Dragon 10:30, 12:30, 2:30, 5; The Witches of Eastwick 7:25, 9:50; Chen 5: E.T. 10:30, 12:30, 2:30, 5; Show Art: The Corner 7:30, 9:55; Chen 6: Closed for renovations; Cinema Two: Gaby 5, 7:15, 9:30; Dekal: Crocodile Dundee 11; Dancin' 11: Jean de Florette 11 a.m., 1:30, 4:30, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: 1, 3, 5, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: Beverly Hills Cop II 11 a.m., 1, 3, 5; The Name of the Rose 7:15, 9:45; Drive-In: Jaws 4: The Revenge 9:30; Superman IV 7:15; Esther: Ishtar 5, 7:30, 9:45; E.T. 7:30, 9:55; Show Art: The Corner 7:30, 9:55; Chen 6: Closed for renovations; Cinema Two: Gaby 5, 7:15, 9:30; Dekal: Crocodile Dundee 11; Dancin' 11: Jean de Florette 11 a.m., 1:30, 4:30, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: 1, 3, 5, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: Beverly Hills Cop II 11 a.m., 1, 3, 5; The Name of the Rose 7:15, 9:45; Drive-In: Jaws 4: The Revenge 9:30; Superman IV 7:15; Esther: Ishtar 5, 7:30, 9:45; E.T. 7:30, 9:55; Show Art: The Corner 7:30, 9:55; Chen 6: Closed for renovations; Cinema Two: Gaby 5, 7:15, 9:30; Dekal: Crocodile Dundee 11; Dancin' 11: Jean de Florette 11 a.m., 1:30, 4:30, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: 1, 3, 5, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: Beverly Hills Cop II 11 a.m., 1, 3, 5; The Name of the Rose 7:15, 9:45; Drive-In: Jaws 4: The Revenge 9:30; Superman IV 7:15; Esther: Ishtar 5, 7:30, 9:45; E.T. 7:30, 9:55; Show Art: The Corner 7:30, 9:55; Chen 6: Closed for renovations; Cinema Two: Gaby 5, 7:15, 9:30; Dekal: Crocodile Dundee 11; Dancin' 11: Jean de Florette 11 a.m., 1:30, 4:30, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: 1, 3, 5, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: Beverly Hills Cop II 11 a.m., 1, 3, 5; The Name of the Rose 7:15, 9:45; Drive-In: Jaws 4: The Revenge 9:30; Superman IV 7:15; Esther: Ishtar 5, 7:30, 9:45; E.T. 7:30, 9:55; Show Art: The Corner 7:30, 9:55; Chen 6: Closed for renovations; Cinema Two: Gaby 5, 7:15, 9:30; Dekal: Crocodile Dundee 11; Dancin' 11: Jean de Florette 11 a.m., 1:30, 4:30, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: 1, 3, 5, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: Beverly Hills Cop II 11 a.m., 1, 3, 5; The Name of the Rose 7:15, 9:45; Drive-In: Jaws 4: The Revenge 9:30; Superman IV 7:15; Esther: Ishtar 5, 7:30, 9:45; E.T. 7:30, 9:55; Show Art: The Corner 7:30, 9:55; Chen 6: Closed for renovations; Cinema Two: Gaby 5, 7:15, 9:30; Dekal: Crocodile Dundee 11; Dancin' 11: Jean de Florette 11 a.m., 1:30, 4:30, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: 1, 3, 5, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: Beverly Hills Cop II 11 a.m., 1, 3, 5; The Name of the Rose 7:15, 9:45; Drive-In: Jaws 4: The Revenge 9:30; Superman IV 7:15; Esther: Ishtar 5, 7:30, 9:45; E.T. 7:30, 9:55; Show Art: The Corner 7:30, 9:55; Chen 6: Closed for renovations; Cinema Two: Gaby 5, 7:15, 9:30; Dekal: Crocodile Dundee 11; Dancin' 11: Jean de Florette 11 a.m., 1:30, 4:30, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: 1, 3, 5, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: Beverly Hills Cop II 11 a.m., 1, 3, 5; The Name of the Rose 7:15, 9:45; Drive-In: Jaws 4: The Revenge 9:30; Superman IV 7:15; Esther: Ishtar 5, 7:30, 9:45; E.T. 7:30, 9:55; Show Art: The Corner 7:30, 9:55; Chen 6: Closed for renovations; Cinema Two: Gaby 5, 7:15, 9:30; Dekal: Crocodile Dundee 11; Dancin' 11: Jean de Florette 11 a.m., 1:30, 4:30, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: 1, 3, 5, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: Beverly Hills Cop II 11 a.m., 1, 3, 5; The Name of the Rose 7:15, 9:45; Drive-In: Jaws 4: The Revenge 9:30; Superman IV 7:15; Esther: Ishtar 5, 7:30, 9:45; E.T. 7:30, 9:55; Show Art: The Corner 7:30, 9:55; Chen 6: Closed for renovations; Cinema Two: Gaby 5, 7:15, 9:30; Dekal: Crocodile Dundee 11; Dancin' 11: Jean de Florette 11 a.m., 1:30, 4:30, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: 1, 3, 5, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: Beverly Hills Cop II 11 a.m., 1, 3, 5; The Name of the Rose 7:15, 9:45; Drive-In: Jaws 4: The Revenge 9:30; Superman IV 7:15; Esther: Ishtar 5, 7:30, 9:45; E.T. 7:30, 9:55; Show Art: The Corner 7:30, 9:55; Chen 6: Closed for renovations; Cinema Two: Gaby 5, 7:15, 9:30; Dekal: Crocodile Dundee 11; Dancin' 11: Jean de Florette 11 a.m., 1:30, 4:30, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: 1, 3, 5, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: Beverly Hills Cop II 11 a.m., 1, 3, 5; The Name of the Rose 7:15, 9:45; Drive-In: Jaws 4: The Revenge 9:30; Superman IV 7:15; Esther: Ishtar 5, 7:30, 9:45; E.T. 7:30, 9:55; Show Art: The Corner 7:30, 9:55; Chen 6: Closed for renovations; Cinema Two: Gaby 5, 7:15, 9:30; Dekal: Crocodile Dundee 11; Dancin' 11: Jean de Florette 11 a.m., 1:30, 4:30, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: 1, 3, 5, 7:30, 9:45; Dancin' 11: Beverly Hills Cop II 11 a.m., 1, 3, 5; The Name of the Rose 7:15, 9:45; Drive-In: Jaws 4: The Revenge 9:30; Superman IV 7:15; Esther: Ishtar 5, 7:3

Whose Mandate?

In a Cautious Taste of Freedom, Korea Elects Government Candidate

By CLYDE HABERMAN

ALTHOUGH on the surface it might not seem like it, South Koreans voted for change in last week's presidential election. True, it was the Government candidate, Roh Tae Woo, who won. But nearly two-thirds of the 23 million voters supported rival opposition contenders, stark testimony to the unpopularity of the present Government.

South Koreans want more democracy, many political analysts have long said. They want to be able to walk down the street without being closely watched by thug-like young men in the employ of one security agency or another. Perhaps most of all, the experts say, South Koreans feel it is time that they be treated like self-determining grown-ups, a courtesy denied them by a succession of patronizing, overbearing regimes.

But there is also a strong conservative streak in Korean society, and many voters did not want to rock the boat too much. "I'm frightened to think there could be a change in the regime," Hong Bong Ja, a farmer's wife in Palan, 35 miles south of Seoul, said before the election. Millions of other Koreans seemed to feel the same way. One of the things that many of them want to preserve, presumably, is the astonishing economic growth that their country has known in the past 20 years, during which per capita gross national product has quadrupled.

Among the three major candidates, Mr. Roh apparently best fulfilled their conflicted yearnings. He is a product of the military-installed Government, but he also promises to be different. Unlike President Chun Doo Hwan, an aloof figure, Mr. Roh presents himself as a warmhearted "ordinary man." In fact, although it was President Chun who picked him as his successor, Mr. Roh ran against Mr. Chun almost as hard as the other

candidates did, chastising the Government for corruption, the use of torture and an all-around authoritarian manner. Not long ago, anyone talking like that in public could have expected to land in jail. (And may very well again. Mr. Chun is still President for the next two months, and he warned at week's end that tolerance shown toward disruptive dissent was a pre-election benefit that he had decided to revoke.)

Before he can bring about any of his pledged changes, Mr. Roh will have to prove his legitimacy to the 63.4 percent of the electorate that said no to him. And that may depend on whether he can put to rest questions about the fairness of the vote.

As expected, the main opposition candidates, Kim Young Sam, who placed second, and Kim Dae Jung, who finished a narrow third, said the election was stolen from them. By the weekend, protesters were in the streets demanding an end to what they called a military dictatorship. It remained to be seen whether they would draw support from more moderate South Koreans, as they did during the demonstrations last June that exacted democratic concessions from Mr. Roh and Mr. Chun. The betting was that the militants would be fairly isolated this time.

The two Kims had reason to complain. During the campaign the ruling party and the Government obviously spent lavishly, skewed the political coverage on state-run television and coerced Roh votes from the employees of big businesses and Government agencies. On Election Day, there were credible reports of vote-buying, fake registration, beatings of election observers and police harassment of voters.

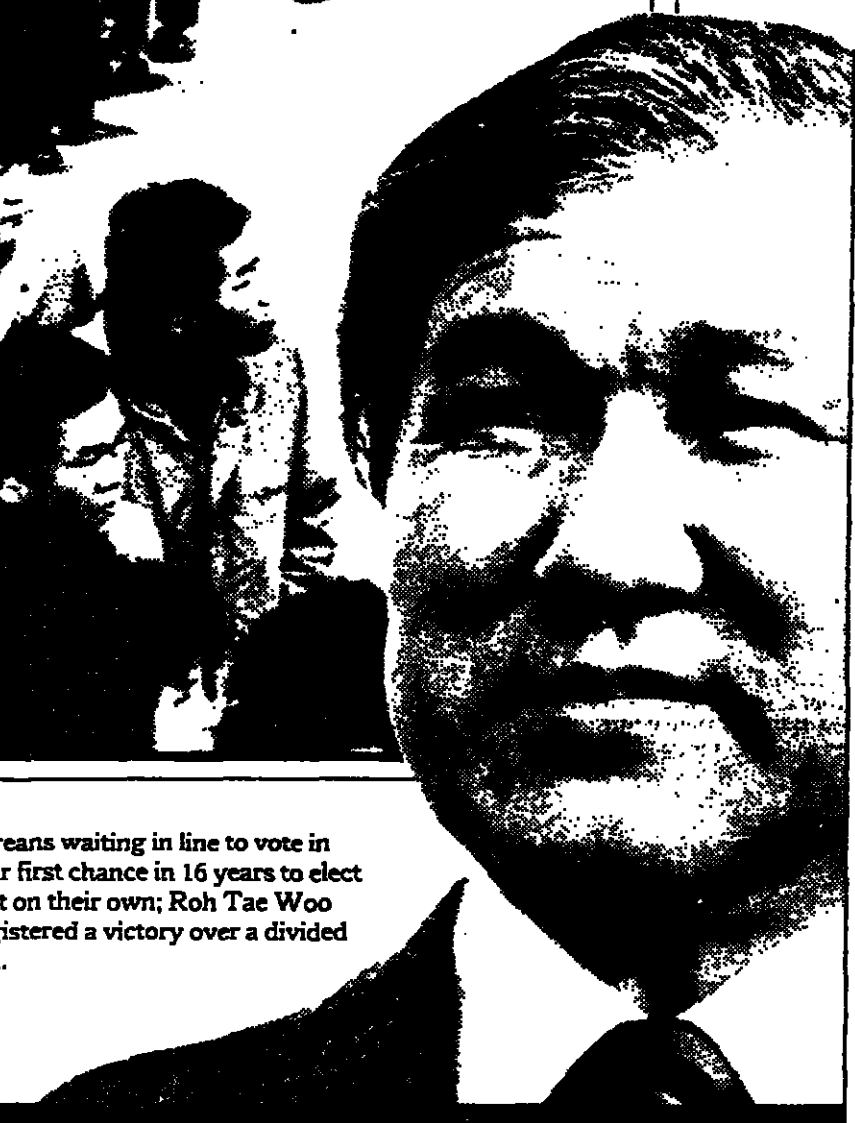
But the extent of the wrongdoing is debatable, and ultimately Korean perceptions, not hard facts, are likely to determine accepted reality. Two squads of foreign observers looked at the election, and they went in different directions. A team of United States Congressional aides expressed concern about election abuses they had seen; an international group of human-rights lawyers agreed there had been irregularities, but concluded that the balloting was "relatively well-organized and efficient." For its part, the United States wrestled briefly over what to do, and then gave its blessing to the President-elect, although it withheld judgment on the cheating issue.

It may well be that no one will ever know the truth. South Korea is not like the Philippines, despite the glib comparisons often made between the two countries' recent flings with expanded democracy. There were no goons here routinely marching into polling places and kicking ballot boxes aside, as occurred in the Philippines in February 1986. If massive cheating took place, then it was carried out with hard-to-trace sophistication.

And unlike Corazon C. Aquino and Salvador Laurel, the two Kims could not field a single opposition candidate between them. Inevitably, they will be called to task for



South Koreans waiting in line to vote in Seoul, their first chance in 16 years to elect a president on their own; Roh Tae Woo (right) registered a victory over a divided opposition.



Associated Press (voters); Sygma/Matsunaga (Roh)

Power and Democracy

1948: Republic of Korea established, with Syngman Rhee as President.

1960: Rhee is forced to step down after protests over the rigging of the election that year. After new, fair elections, the National Assembly appoints Chang Myon as Prime Minister.

1961: Coup led by Gen. Park Chung Hee overthrows Chang Government, which was democratic but ineffectual.

1963: Civilian rule restored and Park is elected President. (He was re-elected in 1967 and 1971; in 1972 and 1978, he was appointed by a rubber-stamp electoral college.)

1979: President Park is assassinated.

1980: Gen. Chun Doo Hwan becomes President, with help of Gen. Roh Tae Woo.

1981: National Assembly and electoral college chosen; college elects President Chun for a seven-year term.

1987: After demonstrations in the summer, President Chun abandons plan to name his own successor and agrees to direct presidential election, held last week.

letting personal ambition get in the way of defeating the Government. Combined, they had 55 percent of the vote, a good argument that one of them could have won if the other had dropped out.

Kim Dae Jung insisted that was not necessarily so. Even in a clean, two-way race, the Government would have figured out how to massage the votes in its favor, he argued. Nevertheless, he and Kim Young Sam left behind a residue of anger and frustration in the anti-Government camp, many of whose members sensed that they had let the presidency slip through their fingers. There was some talk that this might be the beginning of the end for the two Kims, who have dominated the opposition for two decades, but any judgment was premature. Both have frequently displayed phoenix-like powers of recovery. And both will certainly want to be deeply involved in the next democratic exercise — National Assembly elections likely to be held in early 1988.

Moderate South Koreans, including many who voted for either of the Kims, say in significant numbers that they want to put the campaign behind them. It wore them out, they say, and they would like to get over this period of uncertainty and carry on with their lives.

But that does not mean they will let Mr. Roh wander far from view. Like all the candidates, he came up with a raft of promises, including one that he may regret. After the 1988 Seoul Olympics next autumn, he said, he will put his leadership to a vote of confidence. He did not specify what form this plebiscite might take. Nor did he say he would step aside if he lost. But he recognized nonetheless that, if he is to last a full five years in office, he must do something about that 63.4 percent disapproval vote.

Wide Approval for This Supreme Court Nominee

While Examining Kennedy, Senators Look Back at Bork

By LINDA GREENHOUSE

MEMBERS of the Senate Judiciary Committee had two goals, one stated and one unstated, when they convened last Monday for the hearing on the Supreme Court nomination of Judge Anthony M. Kennedy.

The overt goal, at least for the Democratic majority, was to make sure Judge Kennedy matched his reputation as a nonideological conservative. It did not take the members long to decide that he did, and they wished him well and sent him on his way after only a day and a half of polite questions and well-received answers.

The other part of the agenda surfaced on the third and last day. Only then, free of the need to appear decorous in the nominee's presence, did senators clash openly over the events of the past few months, revealing how determined they had been all along to use this hearing to shape the public perception of why the first nominee for the vacancy, Judge Robert H. Bork, was defeated.

Inevitably, the two goals were intertwined. Judge Bork's shadow was a looming presence last week, his testimony a frequent if unspoken reference point for the questions that senators put to Judge Kennedy.

Beyond the committee, the Senate as a whole was vitally interested in taking the measure of this nominee. Many senators, particularly the conservative Southern Democrats and the six moderate Republicans who voted against Judge Bork, had declared themselves willing and even eager to support a "true" conservative for the Supreme Court if only President Reagan would send them one. They have no appetite for another bloody battle, and looked to the Judiciary Committee for confirmation that none would be necessary.



Harry Pincus

Even before the Senate majority leader, Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, dropped in to offer Judge Kennedy his best wishes for long service on the Court, it was clear that there would be no repetition of the Bork fight. In February, after the year-end recess, the committee will probably recommend Judge Kennedy's confirmation unanimously, barring startling new information.

With Republican bitterness over Judge Bork's defeat still raw, no bipartisan consensus was possible within the committee on the hidden agenda, the shaping of the perception of what had led up to this moment.

Yet in the long run, the outcome of "the battle for the legacy," as one Democratic Senate aide labeled this effort, could determine how the Senate approaches not only this Supreme Court vacancy but those that are likely to occur within the next few years.

The 'Lynch Mob' View

Was Judge Bork simply the victim of a "lynch mob," as President Reagan and others have charged? Personal confrontation makes most politicians uneasy, and if the "lynch mob" interpretation takes root, senators could well shrink from doing battle against a future Supreme Court nominee, even one they disagree with profoundly. The balance of power in Supreme Court nominations would tilt sharply toward the White House.

Or, as several committee Democrats insisted last week, did the Bork nomination fail because, after serious and appropriate consideration, both the Senate and the country rejected Judge Bork's judicial philosophy?

The result of that interpretation would be to validate the role the Senate assumed during the Bork fight, that of an equal partner with the President, entitled to scrutinize the nominee's views and to insist that these include a generous reading of the role of both the Constitution and the Court in protecting individual liberties.

As both sides recognized, answering the question of who Anthony Kennedy is would help answer the question of what happened to Robert Bork. To make the case that it was judicial philosophy that defeated Judge Bork, the Democrats needed to establish unmistakable differences between his views and those of Judge Kennedy.

The effort was more successful than the Democrats

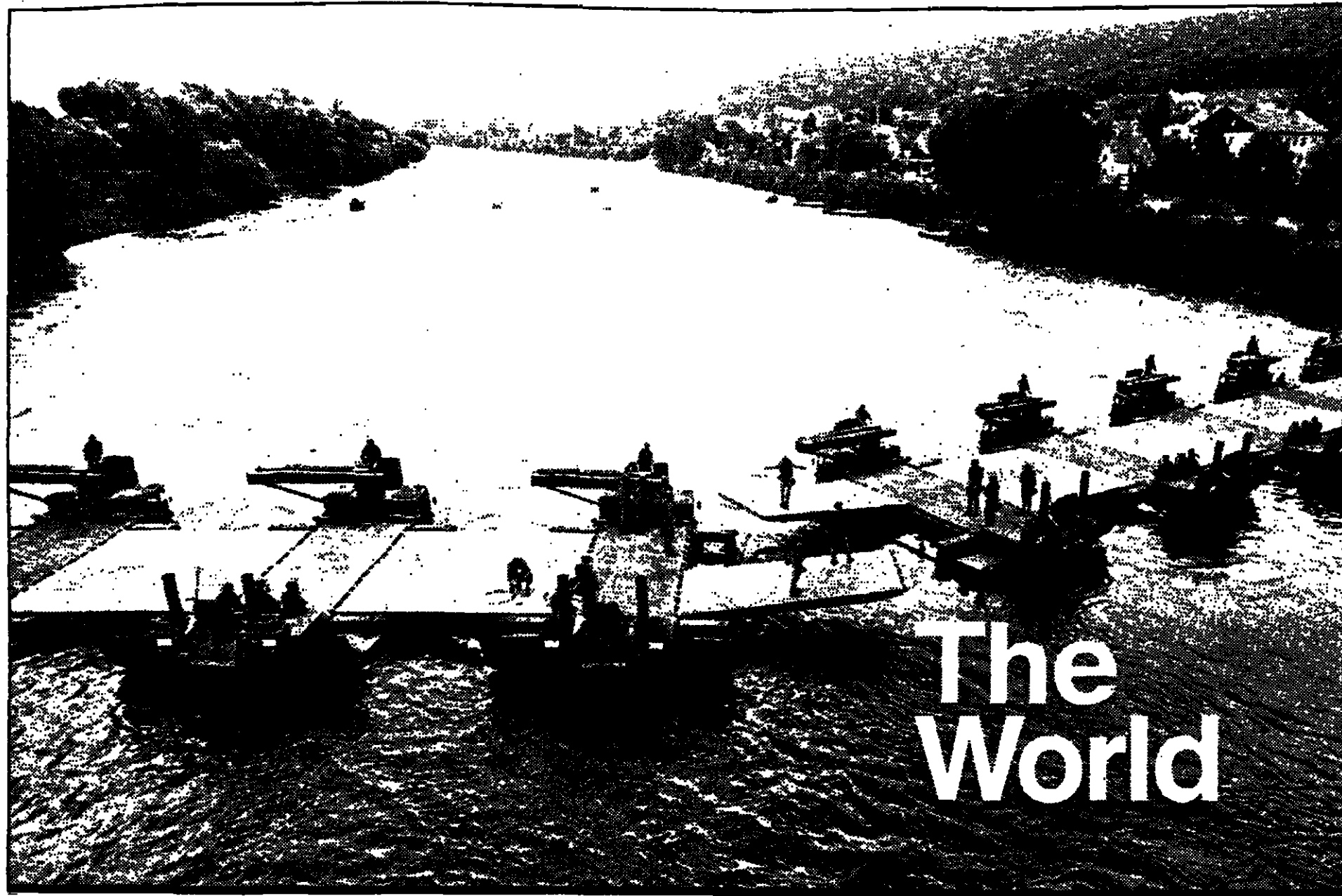
had reason to hope for, particularly given the consensus that Judge Kennedy was under no obligation to give his views on specific questions, especially those, like abortion, affirmative action and church-state issues, on which the Court is evenly divided.

Judge Kennedy's testimony gave little guidance on how he would vote. But his generalities were nonetheless reassuring, even eloquent. He accepted the view that the Constitution protects the right to privacy and other rights not spelled out in the text, a concept Judge Bork rejected. And he gently but unmistakably disavowed the notion that constitutional interpretation can be confined to a mechanical search for the "original intent" of the Framers. He spoke of a Constitution with a built-in capacity for growth, of Framers who "made a covenant with the future." While Judge Bork appeared preoccupied with what the Constitution should not be asked to do, Judge Kennedy spoke of its potential.

The presence of Laurence H. Tribe, the liberal Harvard law professor, underscored the difference as perhaps nothing else could have. He was the Judiciary Committee's star academic witness against Judge Bork. He testified in support of Judge Kennedy, calling the nominee capable of "genuine judicial greatness."

Not everyone agreed. Joseph L. Rauh Jr., the godfather of civil rights law and veteran of many great Senate battles, accused the committee of "playing patty-cake" with Judge Kennedy, whose confirmation, he said, would be a kind of Russian roulette with the Bill of Rights.

It was telling that as Mr. Rauh sat at the witness table, growling at the senators, his spiritual children, the leaders of numerous civil rights organizations that had worked feverishly against Judge Bork, sat silently in the back of the hearing room. They had decided that the wisest course of action was to declare victory in the battle for the legacy, go home and hope for the best.



Troops building a pontoon bridge across the Danube in West Germany during first French-West German joint military maneuvers in September.

The World

Defector Discloses 'Plans'

Sandinistas, In a Corner, May Make Concessions

By JAMES LEMOYNE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — It was a bad week for peace prospects in Central America and a pretty poor week for the political standing of Nicaragua's ruling Sandinistas, as well. Despite Sandinista claims to be seeking a more open, less militaristic society, there were strong indications that the Sandinistas are pursuing a long-term policy to consolidate their rule, backed by a massive, Soviet-supported army.

The indications came from their own actions and from the revelations of a senior Defense Ministry official, Roger Miranda Bengoechea, who defected from Managua to the United States two months ago. Mr. Miranda was perhaps the most trusted aide of Defense Minister Humberto Ortega, who is the brother of President Daniel Ortega Saavedra.

Mr. Miranda detailed for reporters in Washington secret Sandinista plans to create a 500,000-man reserve force armed by the Soviet Union.

He also outlined secret Sandinista support to leftist guerrillas in El Salvador. Both moves appear to be a contradiction of the pledges made by the Sandinistas when they signed a Central American peace treaty in August.

'Speculative' Evidence

Later, a senior Defense Department official acknowledged that the evidence provided by Mr. Miranda of a Nicaraguan plan to invade other nations was "speculative." The official also said that the United States had no documentary evidence that the Soviet Union had promised to furnish MIG-21 jet fighters to the Sandinista Government, as asserted by the defector.

The documents Mr. Miranda provided appeared to mention the planes only as weapons the Sandinistas would like to have. Congressional critics of the Reagan Administration at first tried to play down Mr. Miranda's account, which the Administration

purposely made public on the eve of a vote for renewed assistance to the contra guerrillas.

But skepticism weakened when President Ortega and his brother, the Defense Minister, confirmed some of Mr. Miranda's main allegations.

The two Ortigas admitted that Nicaragua has a secret agreement with the Soviet Union to build an even larger force than Mr. Miranda outlined.

The Sandinistas say they would like to have a 600,000-man reserve force, preferably backed by Soviet-provided MIG fighter jets.

Defense Minister Ortega also seemed indirectly to confirm the existence of Sandinista assistance to Salvadoran rebels, including training them in the use of anti-aircraft missiles.

The Defense Minister asked in a speech why the Sandinistas did not have the right to arm the guerrillas when the Reagan Administration has armed the contras.

The Ortigas also issued tough warnings on the limits of democratization inside Nicaragua. Under the peace treaty, the Sandinistas have promised to seek a democratic society with a freely organized opposition. But in an angry speech, President Ortega declared the Sandinistas would never give up power, even if they lost an election.

He also warned opposition leaders that their right to organize could be revoked and that their property could be confiscated.

A surprisingly united opposition coalition of 14 parties denounced Mr. Ortega's "threats." The opposition then broke off reconciliation talks with the Sandinistas when they postponed consideration of demands to change the constitution to limit the presidency to a single term and to reduce the Sandinista Party's ties to the army and state.

No Easy Answers

The hard words and allegations of plans for the military buildup in Nicaragua raised all the old questions facing the United States. To what extent can the Sandinistas be trusted? And, if they cannot be trusted, how can they be controlled and either forced or persuaded to change their ways?

The answers do not appear to be as cut and dried as the ideologies of left and right have tried to make it appear. The gap remains great between the Sandinistas' most ideological revolutionary aspirations and the real limits now imposed on them. The space in between may leave room for compromises.

The Nicaraguan economy has all but collapsed. Internal opposition is rapidly growing. The Government has outlawed public opinion polls, but few non-Sandinista analysts here believe it now enjoys the active support of most Nicaraguans.

Military problems compound the other bad news. The American-backed contra rebels are doing well in the field. They have shown that they have a peasant base of support and, with American-provided missiles, they appear to have neutralized the Nicaraguan air force. The Sandinistas no longer claim that the contras are "strategically defeated."

In fact, the Government now appears to have its back to the wall.

As a consequence, it may be predisposed to make important concessions in the few weeks remaining before the presidents of Central America meet to decide if the regional peace treaty is being fulfilled. That meeting promises to be a rough session in which the Sandinistas will be asked to explain their plans for a military buildup. But, above all else, the Sandinista leaders have shown themselves to be pragmatic.

That suggests they might be willing to cut a deal to survive as the dominant political force in Nicaragua. It will then be up to Nicaragua's neighbors — and the United States — to see that the Sandinistas observe the limits imposed on their power.

That will not be easy. But short of a United States invasion, forcing internal changes on Nicaragua may be the most Washington can hope for. With pressure growing on the Sandinistas, this may prove to be the best time to try to make such a deal.



Photographer: James O'Connell
Maj. Roger Miranda Bengoechea

Europe Considers How to Take Up Arms

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

PARIS — This is a watershed moment of promise and peril in a Europe that for four decades has been the most heavily armed corner of this planet and, paradoxically, the most peaceful, too.

In the East, the innovative Mikhail S. Gorbachev has extended what looks like an olive branch to the prosperous nations of Western Europe. Hope is quickening, notably in Germany, that the artificial division of Europeans into peoples called "Eastern" and "Western" may be fading. The word *détente* is creeping back into fashion.

Yet dangers lurk in these hopes. From the West — that is, in the United States — the Europeans hear a wavering trumpet and wonder whether the era of the American protectorate could be ending. The most significant news from Western Europe last week may have been embedded in declarations of intent. In London, the British and French Defense Ministers announced they were studying the joint production of an air-launched cruise missile that would carry a nuclear warhead; they did not say so, but such a weapon would bolster NATO's defenses after the destruction of American medium-range missiles mandated by the accord signed by President Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev in Washington.

In Paris, Prime Minister Jacques Chirac signaled his country's emergence from Gaullist isolationism by declaring that France would automatically come to West Germany's defense should it be attacked. "There cannot be," he intoned, "a battle for Germany and a battle for France." Blood-soaked enmities once divided France and Germany, but today their alliance has become the locomotive of defense cooperation among Europeans. Finally, on a six-nation European swing, Secretary of State George P. Shultz urged the allies to strengthen their conventional defenses and poured cold water on West German expectations for eliminating battlefield nuclear weapons clustered on the German-German frontier.

Why all this warlike talk when peace seems to be breaking out? Perhaps because many have the sense of advancing into unknown territory without a map. For better or worse, nuclear weapons have kept the peace in Europe, and there is no clear sense at what levels reductions of them might stop. "The most important task at this stage," said Karl Kaiser, a defense expert in Bonn, "is to define the bottom line of nuclear deterrence, to come to an alliance agreement on what the minimum is, rather than leave the definition to an uncontrollable process in which internal politics of the alliance members interact with Soviet initiatives."

The Soviet Union retains nuclear options across Europe and, in NATO war scenarios, would be more likely to strike a blow against airfields in Britain where American F-111 bombers are based than to contaminate the German terrain it was sending its armies across. Mr. Shultz firmly told his German hosts in Bonn that the Reagan Administration puts the issues of conventional, chemical and strategic nuclear weapons at the top of its arms reduction list — and battlefield systems way at the bottom. The aim was to calm fears in Paris and London that Western Europe could be one day "denuclearized" in the face of Soviet conventional might. Britain and France are significantly building up their own independent nuclear forces — notably their submarine-launched capacity — and have indicated that even deep cuts in the superpowers' strategic arsenals will not deter them.

Ritual Budget Squabble

Yet the alliance faces even larger conceptual problems. Mr. Shultz and other American emissaries like Defense Secretary Frank C. Carlucci have left little doubt that NATO is on the eve of another burden-sharing debate, with Washington demanding steeper defense contributions from its allies. But this ritual squabble comes at a time when some people are talking about restructuring the alliance itself to give the Europeans a more conspicuous leadership role — and perhaps opening a door for France to rejoin NATO's integrated military command.

Since Charles de Gaulle, France has refused to put its troops under the orders of an American general. But, some ask, what if NATO's supreme military commander were a German or a Frenchman, not an American? The naming of Manfred Wörner, the West German Defense Minister, as the alliance's next secretary-general shows that taboos can be overcome. He will become the first German to lead NATO's political arm.

In a widely read new book titled "Beyond American Hegemony," David Calleo, a professor at Johns Hopkins University, argues that the United States is financially overextended abroad and must devolve responsibility on its allies to stabilize and invigorate NATO. "The American protectorate," writes Mr. Calleo, "blocks progress in either direction. On the one hand, American missiles on or off European soil cannot effectively substitute for European nuclear forces. On the other hand, providing a serious European conventional force is clearly beyond American military means."

Europeans who agree with Mr. Calleo quickly insist that they do not want to see an American disengagement. But they argue that the burden-sharing debate has to be put into the more ambitious context of a redistribution of responsibilities. The "European pillar" of the alliance is a phrase coined by John F. Kennedy, but successive American administrations have done little more than pay lip service to the idea. Some Europeans suspect that America's economic travails will soon persuade the United States Congress that a new division of responsibilities makes good financial sense.

The imminent ratification debate in the United States Senate on the missile treaty will be a unique occasion for the Europeans to put their case to the American public. This process could be fruitful for both sides. The Europeans may grasp the American wish that a bigger defense contribution show up in European budgets and not just in declarations of intent. And the American side may understand that the biggest fillip the European pillar idea could have would be to be taken seriously in Washington.

More Vigorous Pursuit of the I.R.A.

Haughey: An Irish Survivor With a Gift for Timing

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

DUBLIN — If he were in American politics, Charles J. Haughey, Prime Minister of the Irish republic, could have been the stuff and star of a musical by now — winking, shambling, tapping across his own life, death and resurrection in politics. The music might thump as jingoistic as George M. Cohan's, but the lyrics should be as masochistic as Stephen Sondheim's. "Deep down I'm a shallow person," Mr. Haughey once declared laughingly in dismissing an interviewer's attempt to elicit introspection.

An easy opening song in "The Boss" or "Charlie" or "C.J.," as he is known, would feature the first public political gesture of the young Haughey, who, as the son of embattled republicans from the Catholic ghettos of Northern Ireland, was so fervently anti-British that he burned the Union Jack on V.E. Day, 1945, outside Trinity College. But that would prove highly misleading, as his latest tenure as Prime Minister is demonstrating. For it was Mr. Haughey (pronounced HAW-hee), warning of depredations by "terrorists" of the Irish Republican Army, who recently dispatched the largest republic contingent ever — 7,000 troops — on a northern border sweep of suspected I.R.A. hideaways.

The raid was in a sense symbolic, did not uncover hidden arms, but did net suspected terrorists. This was the same staunch republican politician whose brilliant career seemed over in 1970 when he was ejected from the Dublin cabinet and arrested as an alleged gun runner in league with republican resistors in the violence of British-controlled Northern Ireland. Mr. Haughey was found not guilty and he instantly put whining aside and took to the courthouse steps for a speech that began a grueling seven-year comeback through the political bogs. It earned him the title of "Ireland's Nixon."

But Mr. Haughey deserves better than that, for he is hardly retreating from office, at least not yet in his new tenure after two earlier terms as Prime Minister, when he lost the job in elections centering on economic issues. In his border initiative, some analysts say the wily 62-



Prime Minister Charles J. Haughey

year-old survivor is merely reflecting the tradition of his Fianna Fail party in denouncing Britain vehemently when running for office, but then joining the hunt for I.R.A. operatives once safely in power.

After all, here is a politician who once secured a critical swing vote in Parliament by promising a legislator \$150 million worth of government projects. "Right lads, you know what I want — what do you want?" Mr. Haughey said, according to the *Irish Times*. But others see more, see him accreting a kind of hoary strength of time and experience in the wearying ooze of Irish politics. They see Mr. Haughey responding intuitively now to the

changing concerns of the recession-ridden republic's constituents. Polls have long shown them preoccupied with youth emigration, some of the steepest taxes among the democracies and a 20 percent unemployment rate.

Accordingly, southerners feel increasingly removed from the I.R.A.'s fratricidal attempts at a paramilitary settlement of the Northern Irish question. A year ago, Mr. Haughey was running for office with a strongly implied threat to rebuff the year-old Anglo-Irish agreement and never "grovel" before the English. Now in office, he has embraced the two-year-old pact and its strategy of offering Dublin a consultative voice in Northern Ireland's affairs, in line with the British hope of eroding the I.R.A.'s appeal to violent revolt. Those with a political memory recall that it was Mr. Haughey, in an earlier incumbency, who broached the idea of Dublin-London cooperation on the north, only to have a falling out with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Such is the Haughey trademark in a long and grizzled career: placing numerous, often contradictory bets down across the political gaming board. The I.R.A. bombing last month in the north, when 11 Irish civilians were killed in the loyalist Protestant community of Enniskillen, left southerners appalled and anxious that they not be identified with such tactics. Mr. Haughey's I.R.A. sweep proved perfectly timed, as did his support for the European extradition treaty now in effect to deny suspected terrorists a haven on political grounds. In the rush of these events, Mr. Haughey was delivered from political trouble for his having failed to persuade Mrs. Thatcher to reform the northern emergency court system, where various crimes are tried before a single judge without a jury. In a way, Mr. Haughey embodies the gnarl of Irish politics, which seem ever furious as a tree in the wind, ever branching darkly. He survives on a "flawed pedigree," to quote the opposition, delivering stump blather to the voters but the thorn stick of purge to clubhouse aides he deems disloyal. "Una Duce, una voce," said P. J. O'Mara, his "minder," or political factotum, in a memorable summary of Haughey civics. There could be many tunes in the Haughey production, including one titled after Mr. Haughey's own election agent who was once detained for allegedly voting twice in an election. He henceforth has been known throughout this land of neelders as "Pat O'Connor, Pat O'Connor."

Mr. Haughey himself is said to favor a song called "The Lonely Boatman," best enjoyed within his Georgian mansion set on 200 acres in north Dublin, or on his millionaire's island off the Kerry coast, acquired during his good fortunes as an accountant and public servant. There, the Irish Boss sails, sees to a stud farm, and commutes in an emerald green helicopter to ever uncertain landings in Dublin politics.

Drought Recurs and Bloodshed Persists

After the Briefest Respite, Africa Faces Starvation Again

By SHEILA RULE

HARDLY had the tragic images of famine in Africa that gripped the world barely three years ago finally begun to flicker than new events seemed to propel their return. A crippling drought, with blood-draining civil strife its dark ally, threatens once again to produce fresh scenes of horror.

"People coming from the countryside walk for one day or two days to reach this place," said Abba Mesghenna-Wolde, coordinator of a food distribution center in Adigrat, a dusty town ringed by mountains in the northern Ethiopian province of Tigre. He was surrounded by hundreds of impoverished Ethiopians waiting under a brilliant and cloudless sky for food rations.

"They don't have any food at their homes but the food we give them is very, very little, not enough to adequately feed their families. We simply don't have enough food to give." According to the rough estimates of the United Nations World Food Program, more than 10 million people in 15 countries, the overwhelming majority of them in central and southern Africa, will need nearly three million tons of food to contain the spread of hunger. Unless the total amount of aid quickly reaches these people, the agency says, starvation could spread like brushfire on parched and dying land.

"The situation is complex," Paul Mitchell, the chief of public affairs for the World Food Program, said in a telephone interview from the agency's office in Rome. "Ideology doesn't have much effect on what is going on now; although certainly approaches by some governments, capitalist and Marxist, have had an adverse impact on agricultural production. 'Also, you're talking about some countries that never had much chance to recover from the last serious drought. And there is quantitatively and qualitatively an increase in insecurity.' The rapidly deteriorating situation reads like a catalogue of despair on a continent haunted by bloody rivalries and desperate poverty. Relief officials warn that Ethiopia, the worst-affected country, is on the brink of a famine that could rival the last catastrophe, which killed hundreds of thousands.

As humanitarian agencies struggle to avoid the re-creation of new feeding camps of the kind where tens of thousands of people died in 1984-85, thousands of Ethiopians in the drought-stricken northern provinces have already left their homes in search of food. Ethiopians from the north are not heading south again toward the same old camps, Mr. Mitchell said. They are migrating from rural areas into towns where food distribution is going on. Relief officials are trying to avoid re-establishing the type of famine shelters where hundreds of thousands died during the last calamity, but some officials believe that some such camps will have to be set up.

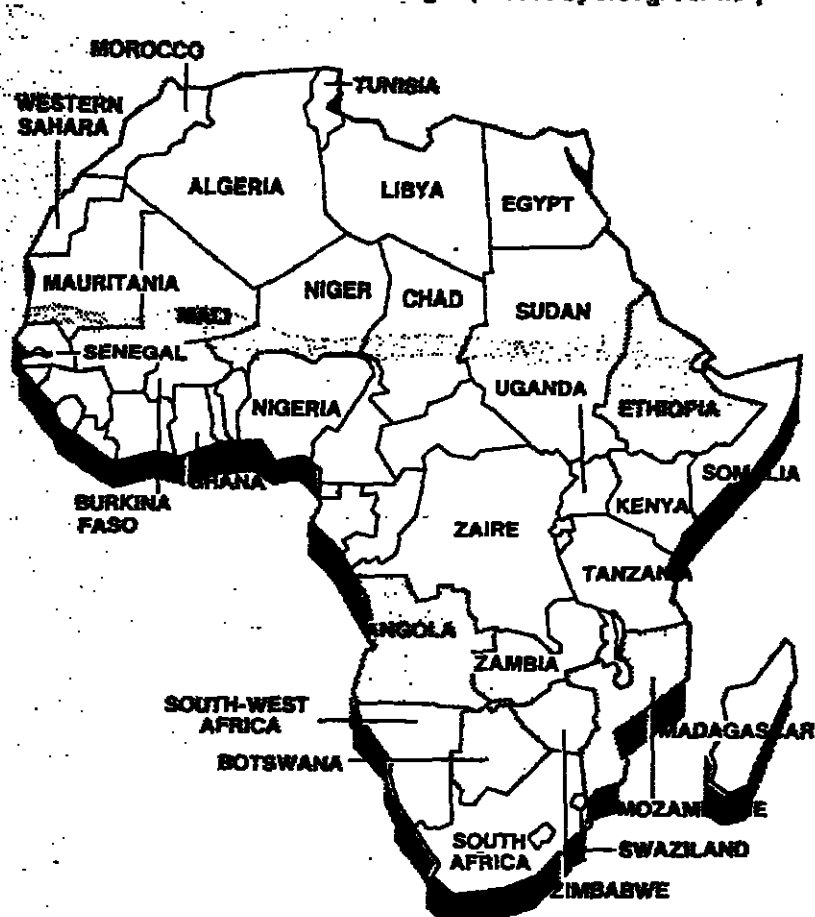
The delivery of emergency relief supplies has been delayed and frustrated by an intractable war between Government troops and secessionist rebels. Mozambique is entering its sixth year of drought and war. Rebel attacks there also have impeded food deliveries to the seriously affected population in inaccessible southern areas.

Angola, devastated by a 12-year-old armed conflict that has ruined its rural economy, has an estimated 650,000 displaced people in need of relief food. Low rainfall in parts of the Sudan is expected to result in reduced harvests and a substantial food shortage. The problem there is exacerbated by the crippling weight of two million refugees from Ethiopia and other neighboring countries and displaced people in the southern Sudan, where war has blocked trade and sabotaged bridges, hampering food delivery.

Somalia, where this year's harvest is expected to be

Zones of hunger

Areas with most severe food shortages (caused by drought or war)



Source: United Nations Office for Emergencies in Africa

above average but well below last year's record harvest, has been sapped by the heavy loss of livestock among nomadic herders and the presence of approximately 800,000 Ethiopian refugees.

No immediate solution

The list of countries with serious hunger pockets goes on: Uganda, Zaire, Botswana, Chad, Niger, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Relief officials and others see no immediate solution to this repetition of misery. The weather in the short term of recent months has been increasingly unpredictable and the wars do not seem close to ending — much of Marxist Ethiopia's spending has been devoted to supporting one of black-ruled Africa's biggest military establishments.

But to some Western and African experts, the weather does no more than tip the balance against people already tottering on the brink of survival because of the failed economic, environmental and political policies of the past. As Africa's populations increased dramatically, or "ever more fragile and less usable land, traditional farming methods were not able to keep pace."

For years, agricultural specialists deplored national policies and economic mismanagement in Africa that led

to a steady decline in farm production. For reasons of politics, many African countries favored urban food consumers over rural food producers in their pricing policies, resulting in falling production. Foreign debt exerted pressure on governments to promote cash crops for export rather than food crops for their people. But in a world of falling commodity prices, Africa cannot repay its debt or feed its people.

At the same time, indiscriminate land use, deforestation and unlimited wanderings of nomadic herders enhanced the rate at which the land is turning to desert. The West poured in aid without helping to find a key to greater food production, and Africa's dependence on outsiders increased.

African leaders with a range of ideologies are now seeking to produce more food and reform their agriculture policies. Some countries are increasing prices they pay farmers for food to boost production, and substantially increasing their investment in agriculture. As many as 28 African countries, from Ghana in West Africa to Tanzania in the east, have embarked on policy reforms and, for most of them, the priority is food and agriculture.



Six months old and hungry in northern Ethiopia.

Sygnia/Derek Hudson

But any benefits of reform are years down the road, agricultural specialists and others say, and a continent that could once feed itself will need international aid for decades to come. Western diplomats say that Ethiopia has agreed in principle to major agricultural reforms but has failed to take significant steps in that direction.

"Even if Ethiopia had made reforms at the time of the 1984-85 drought," said James R.

Cheek, chargé d'affaires of the United States Embassy in Ethiopia, "it takes probably at least five years to even hope to get toward self-sufficiency and probably 8 to 10 years to get the kind of surpluses needed to cope with Ethiopia's own disaster. These needed reforms have nothing to do with politics. They are an absolute necessity."

A Voice From The Negev

"The Palestinians Have Earned a Share of Sovereignty"



Israeli soldier kicking a Palestinian youth in Gaza City during demonstrations last week.

By HAIM CHERTOK

AFEW weeks after the Israeli Government discovered a pretext for expelling Palestinian-American Mubarak Awak, the nonviolent disciple of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., another darkly imaginative Palestinian waited in over the Lebanese border in a hang glider. Before he could be dispatched, six Israeli soldiers were dead. Soon after that, violence began to erupt daily on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, where my son Ted has spent the last week leading a platoon on patrol around the alleys of Gaza.

Since my own most recent tour of reserve duty concluded only in October and my own 20-year-old son now serves on active duty, I have more than a casual relation to these recent happenings. No, I don't suggest that there lies any parity between them or that there lurks between them some subterranean link. But when the mind casts about the billowing, bloodied public waters of Israeli-Palestinian relations, like a minnow and a shark, they flop in the same temporal net.

Haim Chertok is an American-born Israeli writer. His book, "Stealing Home: Israel Bound and Rebound," will be published in February.

quite favoring them at least markedly encouraging these affable kids from the Galilee to do well in my class. It is a longstanding reflex: I used to root against the Yankees.

The English lessons do not always proceed with false starts and double-think. "Migration" — a new word. Birds do it. Bees do it. People sometimes. "Nomads" is as close as I veer toward reality. "Exploitation" — as in Marxist theory. Like in South Africa. Eyes are averted. I equivocate; it's the wrong forum. Moen and Fuad do not seek gratuitous classroom grief.

Similar illusions

Several times a month I take the bus to Jerusalem. From Beersheba there are alternatives: through pre-'67 Israel via Kiryat Gat or the shorter but more twisty route via Hebron on the West Bank. I have friends who for good cause always choose one or the other. It is symptomatic, I know that I simply take whichever bus leaves first. Even after 10 years, the bus ride through the West Bank elicits a certain frisson. I stare out at schoolchildren in their uniforms, at herders with sheep going to market, at the handsome Arab houses that dot the slopes, at women and children working in the fields.

The bus careers dangerously through the towns; we all know why the driver goes so fast. Although I anticipate every turn in the road, although north of Hebron lies the turnoff to the yeshiva where my son, when not on active duty, lives and studies, I gaze out the window as I

would at the countryside of Flanders or Fukien or of any foreign field. I have friends, both Orthodox Jews like myself and secular, who feel that this Judea and Samaria is their God-given, incontestable patrimony.

I understand them. Oh, how well I understand them! Their illusions are of a piece with those of many Arabs. Just as Palestinian hopes have been nursed by the dream that one day we Jews will blow away like so much sand or dust, so my friends wish away and, if they but could, would bribe away or shoo away these 750,000 West Bank Arabs who are not now nor ever will be Israeli citizens.

It is the sorry fate of these Arabs to be hostage to and represented by a liberation movement that Amos Oz has rightfully described as one of the ugliest and stupidest in modern history. The very notion of a "binational" or "pluralistic" polity embracing Jews and Palestine Liberation Organization-dominated thugs who have murdered far more Arabs than Jews is anathema. Indeed, who can doubt that Yitzhak Shamir, by expelling Mubarak Awak, did not save his life?

But grievances of people who live under military occupation need not be fabricated or exaggerated. Enough is assuredly genuine. Just one sweaty, indelible afternoon while on reserve duty manning a roadblock near Ramallah was enough to serve as a convincing demonstration of that for me. I and many other Israelis recognize the likelihood that one day guards from a Democratic Arab Republic of Palestine will man what are now

open borders. And it may be years thereafter before I have a choice as to which bus route to take when I want to travel from Beersheba to Jerusalem.

I have no illusions. The Palestinian republic will be led by the ugly, brutal, not really all that stupid P.L.O. Whether we like it or not, after 20 years, there really is no one else.

Even then, neither reconciliation nor peace will descend upon Israel like the dew. It may take yet further war. However, Palestinian sovereignty is the vital precondition to peace. Like much else, we Israelis will learn to live with it.

In the midst of our present anger and grief, we cannot but note that our old, comforting taunt — the P.L.O. takes on children and old women but dares not engage our army — is no longer valid. As Faulkner wrote, the real custodians of the land are those who work it and are prepared to sacrifice their lives in its defense. There is the ironic collusion of an Israeli Government that expels Palestinian pacifists and the 99.8 percent of North American Jews who have chosen, instead of either route to Jerusalem, to be avid spectators, rooters in the central drama of the age.

What has been of greater cheer to the Arabs in their darkest hours than this parody of Zionism? The Palestinians, it must be granted, have earned a share of sovereignty in this tired, little land. At this late stage, fairness has little more to do with it.

The Slide Steepens

Peru and Mexico Try Devaluation

MONEY suddenly was worth substantially less in several parts of the Western Hemisphere last week. Mexico devalued its currency by 18 percent on Monday. The same day, Peru went even further, slicing nearly 40 percent from the value of its currency. And in the United States, the Bank of Boston announced that it was effectively declaring worthless \$200 million of the \$1 billion in loans it has made to Latin America.

The Latin American economic crisis that began in 1982 shows no signs of abating, and, as the experience of Mexico and Peru shows, both conventional and heterodox policies seem to be unable to restore the region to health. President Alan Garcia of Peru has adopted a defiant stance, limiting repayment of its foreign debt to 10 percent of its export earnings and pursuing a "growth first" philosophy. But that recipe has led to higher inflation, a cut-off of foreign loans and a drain on reserves.

Mexico, on the other hand, responded to its crisis with an austerity program that has won the approval of loan officials. As late as October, it ap-

peared that the sacrifices were beginning to yield results and that the worst was over. But in the last two months the Mexican economy has gone into a vertiginous decline. Inflation has zoomed to an all-time high of 144 percent, and the previously quiescent labor sector has begun to make threatening noises as it watches its purchasing power erode.

In fact, it was the threat of a general strike that prompted the "economic solidarity pact" announced by President Miguel de la Madrid last week. In addition to the currency devaluation, the plan calls for sweeping budget cuts, higher taxes, increases of up to 85 percent in the prices of basic goods and services, and wage and price indexing.

Despite the Bank of Boston action, however, most loan officials appear to have little concern about Mexico's ability to meet its obligations. They note that, despite the capital outflows of the last two months, Mexico's foreign reserves continue to hover at about \$15 billion, the highest in history. And Mexico will also register a trade surplus of more than \$7 billion this year.

LARRY ROHTER

The Nation

In Anti-Deficit Battle, Few Approve of The Weapons

By JONATHAN FUERBRINGER

WASHINGTON WITH nearly 1,000 pages of fine print, the \$600 billion catchall spending bill for the 1988 fiscal year staggers the clerk who has to carry it from the House to the Senate and the lawmakers who vote on it. The document is the spending plan for the Government and at the same time another sign of what is wrong with Government — the doubtful political will, the resort to gimmicks, and the deadline approach to policy making.

The catchall measure that the lawmakers were preparing this weekend is one of two needed to implement last month's agreement between Congress and President Reagan to bring the deficit down by \$30 billion in 1988 and an additional \$46 billion in 1989. The other bill details \$9 billion of tax increases, which fall mainly on corporations and the wealthy, and cuts in Medicare and farm programs, Federal asset sales and fees for Government services.

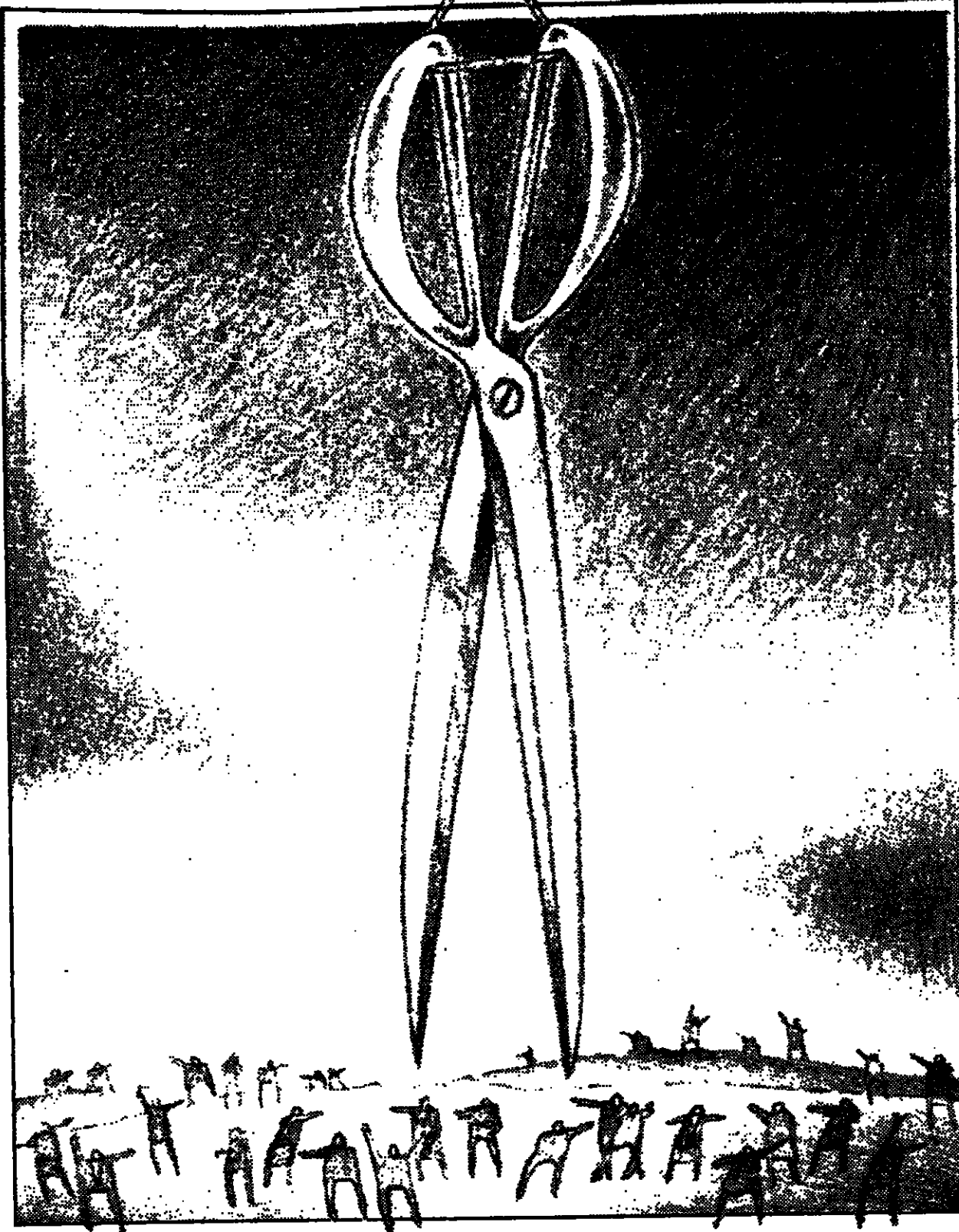
Once it was the custom of Congress to consider the appropriations for Government agencies and most programs in 13 separate bills — one for the Pentagon, another for the legislative branch, another for energy and water programs, and so on.

Tossing appropriations bills into a single measure known as a continuing resolution has become more and more common in recent years. It makes it easier to get the bill through Congress, garnished as it inevitably is with pet projects and sweeteners to attract votes of all political persuasions. And it makes it harder for the President to veto it than a single appropriations bill, because most of the Government is involved.

Add the pressure of working out the last major compromises just days before the Christmas recess. In all-day and late-night sessions, House and Senate negotiators, pressured by colleagues who want to go home, wrestled last week with giving the homeless leftover food from Senate cafeterias, new nonmilitary aid for the rebels fighting the Government of Nicaragua, to building a right-hand turn lane in San Diego, the sale of Stinger antiaircraft missiles to Bahrain. President Reagan raised the ante on Friday, threatening a veto if humanitarian aid to the Contras was not "adequate" or if the so-called fairness doctrine, requiring broadcasters to offer reasonable time for opposing views on public issues, is included in the measure.

Jamming a year of governing into the last several weeks of the session makes a spectacle that distresses Democrats and Republicans alike.

"I make no bones about my complete disillusionment with the budget process," said Representative Robert H. Michel of Illinois, the House Republican leader. Repre-



John Coyne

sentative William H. Natcher, Democrat of Kentucky and chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services and Education, agreed. "We've made a mistake" in not sending appropriations bills to the President separately, he said.

But this jumbled end may be fitting for a disappointing year. Not even the threat of the automatic across-the-board spending cuts under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings budget-balancing law were enough to move the President and Congress to work together. Only the stock market collapse of Oct. 19 pushed the President to negotiate on tax increases.

The compromise that resulted disappointed many of the negotiators as much as the financial markets. The outlook for the drafting of the 1989 budget promises more disappointment ahead.

Besides mandating savings in 1988, the agreement sets ceilings for both Pentagon and discretionary domestic spending for 1989 as well; on the tax side, the \$9 billion in new revenue for 1988 is projected to grow to \$14 billion in 1989. Congressional leaders and the President insist that this agreement will be kept. But there is no real guarantee that it will, especially if the nation slides toward recession. After all, the parties can rewrite any

commitment they have made, simply embodying it in new legislation.

More importantly, the 1989 savings in the 1988 compromise are not expected to reduce the projected deficit to within \$10 billion of the \$136 billion ceiling set under the budget balancing law. This means more savings will have to be approved to avoid another round of automatic spending cuts. Meanwhile, estimates for economic growth next year are declining, adding perhaps as much as \$15 billion to the projected deficit. And that could mean that Congress might have to cut as much as \$36 billion.

But there is little room to do so. The President will be loath to reduce military spending further; Congress will feel the same about domestic spending programs. Tax increases also seem unlikely. This year, even when wrapped in the political cover provided by Black Monday, the budget negotiators could not bring themselves to touch Social Security or other entitlement programs — the major untapped area for deficit reduction.

It is all a script for another scramble to avoid the automatic spending cuts — this time in an election year, when politicians are not known for courage — and for another gimmick.

Site Is Designated but Hurdles Remain

Nevada May End Up Holding the Nuclear Bag

By SUSAN RASKY

WASHINGTON AFTER decades of technical, political and regional battles over where and how to safely store the most dangerous nuclear wastes, Congressional negotiators came to agreement last week with what appeared to be stunning abruptness. They designated Nevada's Yucca Mountain, a desolate slab of rock 110 miles northwest of Las Vegas, as the site for a permanent repository for tons of radioactive material. And politicians from 49 other states heaved sighs of relief.

"I think it's fair to say we've solved the nuclear waste problem with this legislation," said Senator J. Bennett Johnston, the Louisiana Democrat who initiated the choice with a bill to scrap the scientific site-selection procedures in a 1982 law. "The problem with nuclear waste has never been scientific, it's always been emotional and political."

News From New Mexico

But other news last week suggested science may not yet have all the answers. Specialists from the University of New Mexico reported that a pilot nuclear waste facility, a vast cavern dug by the Department of Energy in salt deposits 2,150 feet beneath the desert near Carlsbad, N.M., has developed water leaks. The resulting brine would corrode steel drums holding the waste. Department scientists and engineers say the problem can be fixed, but some independent experts are skeptical.

The Yucca Mountain site poses other difficulties: Nevada officials assert it is vulnerable to earthquakes and to geyser activity. But with tons of wastes piling up at 100 nuclear power plants, near towns and even cities, and with the Energy Department saying that the restrictions of the 1982 law meant delaying the opening of a storage site until 2003, pressure to act was mounting.

Agreement on the Nevada site plan in the heated final days of the Congressional session was a tribute to Mr. Johnston's shrewd maneuvering. Indeed, two powerful House committee chairmen, John Dingell of Michigan and Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who were fiercely op-

Mounting nuclear waste

Amount of spent fuel, in metric tons, that is stored at nuclear power plants and is to be shipped to storage site, which will be ready around the turn of the century.

	1985	2000*		1985	2000*
Alabama	900	2,900	Missouri	0	300
Arizona	0	1,000	Nebraska	300	700
Arkansas	300	800	New Hampshire	0	500
California	300	1,800	New Jersey	400	1,800
Connecticut	700	1,800	New York	1,100	2,900
Florida	700	2,000	North Carolina	500	1,900
Georgia	300	1,500	Ohio	100	1,000
Illinois	1,900	5,800	Oregon	200	500
Iowa	100	300	Pennsylvania	800	3,900
Kansas	0	300	South Carolina	700	2,500
Louisiana	0	700	Tennessee	200	1,800
Maine	300	500	Texas	0	1,300
Maryland	400	900	Vermont	200	400
Massachusetts	300	600	Virginia	800	1,800
Michigan	700	2,300	Washington	**	900
Minnesota	500	1,100	Wisconsin	400	1,000
Mississippi	0	800	Total	12,900	47,900

*Projected
**Less than 50 metric tons

Source: Pacific Northwest Laboratory

posed to his plan and his methods, had little choice but to go along in the end. "It was base, raw, power politics," said Nevada's junior senator, Harry Reid, a Democrat who won his seat a year ago with a pledge to keep the nuclear dump site out of the state.

By targeting Nevada, Mr. Johnston was able to win support from senators whose states were candidates for either the permanent waste site or a temporary storage facility also envisioned in the 1982 law. His coup was a

nuclear or environmental disaster. They argue that the department's evaluations of other potential storage sites have been shoddy, and that the new legislation lacks controls to insure that a proper study of the Nevada site.

Senator Reid says the fight is far from over. Apart from lawsuits, public hearings and scientific testimony about the unsuitability of the Nevada site, he said, there is the thorny issue of transporting nuclear wastes to Yucca Mountain — through at least 40 states.

The Deaver Drama

Well-Placed Friends and, Eventually, Loose Money

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

WASHINGTON THERE is the stuff of high melodrama in the case of Michael Keith Deaver, whose trial ended last Wednesday with a jury verdict of guilty on three of five charges of perjury.

The story opens on a Horatio Alger note: The poor but charming son of a hard-drinking small-town filling station owner, Mr. Deaver puts himself through San Jose State University by playing the piano at cocktail bars under the stage name Michael Keith. His bachelor's degree, in political science, is the family's first. He moves up fast in the Santa Clara County Republican Party and joins Ronald Reagan's Statehouse staff in 1967.

In Sacramento, he meets and marries a shy, appealing young Statehouse secretary, a favorite of Nancy Reagan. Assigned to tend Mrs. Reagan's schedule — he and others call it "the Mommy Watch" — he begins a 20-year, almost-adopted-son relationship with the Reagans. At one memorable moment, he steps forward boldly to rescue the choking Governor with the Heimlich maneuver.

That was the start of a career that may, if appeals fail, end with a prison sentence. What happened along the way was summarized by Whitney North Seymour Jr., the special prosecutor in the case: "There's too much loose money and too little concern in Washington about ethics." Corporations and foreign governments, he said, are eager to hand "vast sums of money" to "consultants whose stock in trade is their friendship with persons in high office."

By 1981, Mr. Deaver had not only a uniquely intimate rapport with the Reagan family, but also a growing reputation as a skillful image-maker. As White House deputy chief of staff, he was the Presidential appointments gatekeeper and the planner of TV camera angles on Presidential trips. He had the choicest White House office, with a door opening directly into the Oval Office. He made the "A list" of Washington hostesses; some weeks the Deavers were out seven nights in a row.

But after Mr. Reagan's re-election campaign in 1984, there were signs of burnout. He complained



The New York Times/Paul Heston
Michael K. Deaver outside Federal District Court after being found guilty of perjury.

publicly that he could not support his family on a top Government salary. He began drinking too much, most of it secretly. He stirred a storm of criticism by having Mr. Reagan visit a cemetery at Bitburg, West Germany, where Nazi Waffen SS troops were buried.

In May 1985, at age 47, he opened the consulting firm of Michael K. Deaver and Associates Inc. By Christmas his office had signed clients paying more than \$3 million, and his company car was a dark green Jaguar with a telephone.

His piously avowed intention to offer only "strategic planning" and to avoid "the quick fix" was violated almost immediately. Under a \$250,000-a-year contract with Trans World Airlines, which was fighting a takeover by the corporate raider Carl Icahn, he called to solicit — but failed to get — a delaying action from Elizabeth H. Dole, then the Secretary of Transportation. Under new management, TWA never asked him to do more: He had made a quarter-million-dollar phone call.

Another contract, with the Government of Canada for \$100,000, prompted a House inquiry and a Federal grand jury investigation as to whether Canada, which wanted the Administration to do more to curb acid rain, might have hired a former policy-maker to help it shape the debate. That would make him a violator of the ethics act. In sworn testimony, Mr. Deaver said he did not remember White House meetings on acid rain.

Under oath, he said he could not recall, or he simply denied, more than 20 lobbying contacts with White House and other officials on behalf of the Government of South Korea, Philip Morris International, the Boeing Company, Rockwell International Inc. and others. Enthralled with his access to the Oval Office, South Korea paid him \$475,000 a year; each of the others, \$250,000. Then, last March, the grand jury indicted Mr. Deaver on charges of lying to it and to the House investigating subcommittee. The President said he had confidence in his friend, but the clients did not. They fled.

When the jury found Mr. Deaver guilty of three of the five counts in the indictment, he asserted his disappointment and his innocence. But barring a successful appeal, he faces a sentence of as much as 15 years in prison and \$22,000 in fines, not to mention legal fees estimated at more than \$600,000.

Mr. Deaver has sold a kiss-and-tell book manuscript for a reported \$500,000. Excerpts published in a national magazine made the President look silly, and the First Lady even sillier. On Thursday Mrs. Reagan said that, while she is "terribly sorry" for Mr. Deaver, White House lawyers have advised no contact with him while his appeals are pending.

Meanwhile, two special prosecutors are investigating another Reagan friend, Attorney General Edwin Meese III, in regard to the Iran-contra affair and the Wedtech scandal. And a third friend, Lyn Nofziger, goes on trial next month on charges of peddling influence for more "loose money."

Arts & Leisure

Chinese art's involvement with music is also instructive. In the West, Kandinsky, Klee, Braque and others saw music as a model for painting at the time when linear perspective lost its authority and pictorial 'relation-



The 17th-century painter Wang Yuan-ch'i wrote that "the *tau* or 'way' of music is interchangeable with that of painting." Maxwell K. Hearn of the Mei's department of Far Eastern Art uses musical terms to describe "An Ancient House Under Tall Pine Trees," a painting by Tao-chi, a contemporary of Wang Yuan-ch'i. Mr. Hearn rhapsodizes about the "three planes parallel to the surface and the ability to move back and forth between them. Each is like a separate sound track or voice, like contrapuntal music, like Bach."

Sometimes governments spread the word by writing graffiti on sacred places. Many Chinese artists studied the calligraphy on earth and stone, and most of them learned from rubbings, taken from script on stone, that were widely circulated and collected. In China, writing was not seen as a violation of sacred natural sites, but as a form of nature itself. Indeed writing was so revered that, according to Mr. Hearn, nothing written was

The freshness of his script, and the sense of energy released and stored within characters, depends upon method. Mr. Fong writes in the catalogue that "Huang wrote with his wrist and arm suspended above the table; he gripped the brush tightly, carefully hiding the brush tip in the center of the stroke, while pressing down and lifting up the brush verti-

Calligraphy and painting were ways of making statements about the whole person and his place in the world.

The culminating figure of the first half of the show is Ni Tsan (1301-74), one of the most imitated figures in all of Chinese art. During the Yuan Dynasty, China was entirely occupied by an outside force for the first time. Ni

"Fives character poem" is clever. It is one of many works in the show that suggest the tendency of the Chinese artist to be at the same time spontaneous in his execution and dizzily self-conscious in his awareness of the historical and compositional implications of every stroke. The poem is in effect two columns, each with about 10 characters. Even though the columns occupy the center and right sides of the scroll, the characters seem to fill the entire surface. The energy is passed from character to character. Each one seems to be listening to and reacting to the others. This is the kind of work that makes the Abstract Expressionist fascination with calligraphy easy to understand.

A scene from "Hanna's War," a film the writer-director Menahem Golan hopes to release next May.

Cannon's movie is "Hanna's War," a feature about a young Hungarian Jewish war heroine executed by Hungarian fascists. Ellen Burstyn, the Oscar-winning actress, plays the heroine's mother. The Greenwald company was shooting "Lena: My

"I've been trying to do the movie for more than 20 years, but they

"Now there is an openness here," said Mr. Golan. "They read the script but didn't censor it. I have a notion they'll show the film here. I'd like to have the premiere in Budapest, with their leaders present."

BY JOHN M. SAMSON/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Maieska

- 1 **Edible** pod
- 5 **Astronomer** Ben
- 10 **Like Joe** Greene
- 14 **Accumulate** rapidly
- 19 **Dupe**
- 20 **Kind of duck or** bird
- 22 **Corkwood**
- 23 **Capital of** ancient Ethiopia
- 24 **Richard** Robert's father
- 25 **Keepers** make them
- 26 **Throw forth**
- 27 **Japanese** P.M.: 1978-80
- 28 **Gallimaufree**
- 30 **Monkeyshine**
- 31 **Inc. relative**
- 32 **Watchful** ones
- 35 **Hawkins and** Thompson
- 39 **Closest articles**
- 39 **City NW of** Arnhem
- 40 **—** Dar es Salaam, capital of Tanzania
- 41 **Nicolas, e.g.**
- 42 **Drag**
- 44 **Like the** tropics
- 45 **Himalayan** hulk

- 52 Backslides
- 53 Korean
- 57 Boat in
"Jaws"
- 58 "That that made
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- 59 Moonfish
- 60 Attain
- 61 Pules
- 63 Heads-up
- 64 Field game
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- 66 Double-edged
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- 67 Penitent
- 68 Selective
- 69 "Poetry Man"
- 73 Chilled dessert
- 74 Psyched-up
- 75 Oola's Alley
- 76 Unsheathed
- 78 Do a tinker's
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- 81 Mary Mapes
Dodge poem
- 85 Petalous
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- 89 Make feasible
- 90 Towering
- 91 Isotopes
- 92 Wagnerian
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- 94 Wends
- 95 "Jude the
Obscure"
novelist
- 97 Take flight to
war
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mother
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birthday
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ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

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Judge Kennedy's Constitution

As the repeated Senate hearings on Supreme Court nominees have demonstrated, the Constitution lives. Last week it was studied, argued over and even shaped by the Senate Judiciary Committee's dialogue with Judge Anthony Kennedy. If confirmed, he will have much to say about what the Constitution means. Even in his testimony last week, he contributed generously, often brilliantly, to the continuing dialogue.

The result was an absorbing, real-life course in constitutional law in which the nominee and the senators learned from each other. Now, with the hearings over, the exchange will continue in writing until the committee votes in late January. Some questions persist, especially as to Judge Kennedy's understanding of ethnic and gender discrimination. Otherwise, he looks like a justice all Americans, whatever their politics, can respect.

Judge Kennedy did not merely respond to the senators' questions but gave creative constitutional insights. He began by admitting, or affirming, that he has no overarching "unitary theory," a contrast to the defeated nominee Robert Bork that gratified all but the senators of the extreme right.

Is there a right of privacy beyond the literal Bill of Rights? Yes, he said: "There is a zone of liberty, a zone of protection, a line that's drawn where the individual can tell the Government, 'Beyond this line you may not go.'" That liberty "is quite expansive, quite sufficient to protect the values of privacy that Americans legitimately think are part of their constitutional heritage." And yes, contrary to Judge Bork, that includes some right of marital privacy.

This is no commitment to vote a certain way on specific matters, like abortion. But it shows a mind willing to search for that principled line — which is

all the Senate and the public can honorably ask.

Judge Kennedy offered an eloquent definition of "original intent" and how to reconcile it with modern social views. If the draftsmen of the 14th Amendment were willing to live with segregated societies, where is the basis, for instance, for Brown v. Board of Education, the 1954 school desegregation decision? Here is Judge Kennedy's view:

"The whole lesson of our constitutional experience has been that a people can rise above its own injustice; that a people can rise above the inequities that prevail at a particular time. The framers of the Constitution originally, in 1789, knew that they did not live in a constitutionally perfect society, but they promulgated the Constitution anyway. They were willing to be bound by its consequences. And in my view the 14th Amendment was intended to eliminate discrimination in public facilities on the day that it was passed."

Those who search for broad constitutional purpose today are not hobbled by the past but bolstered by experience. "New generations yield new insights and new perspectives. The idea that the framers of the Constitution made a covenant with the future is what our people respect."

Judge Kennedy heard senators probe other aspects of his fitness. Though restless about belonging to exclusive private clubs, he was slow to quit them. Though more attentive than some judges to strong claims by Mexican-Americans, he has also often thrown them out of court. Passionate and reasoned complaints by Hispanic lawyers deserve further response.

He might, in answer, be unaccountably clumsy and insensitive; the next four weeks might bring other surprises. But so far, the more the public learns about Anthony Kennedy, the more appealing his nomination appears.

Who Will Plead for Gaza?

"If you prick us, do we not bleed?" The Palestinians of the Gaza Strip can ask this of the world, much as Shakespeare's Shylock demanded of his tormentors.

Neither Egypt nor Jordan wants these Palestinians, more than 500,000 of them. Neither Saudi Arabia nor Kuwait nor other oil-rich sheikdoms will help them. And so, in the last few years, the Palestinians of Gaza have become solely the problem of Israel. And Israel offers neither solution nor policy, only riot control. Arab leaders watch Israel's predicament with a kind of glee.

Tragically, no one has an answer for this 30-mile-long and 6-mile-wide camp composed mostly of refugees. They live in desperate poverty, without economic or political hope. To protest their fate, they declared a general strike last week. Israeli soldiers moved in to maintain order. People were killed on both sides in the worst outbreak of violence since Israeli occupation began in 1967.

The riots have spread to East Jerusalem as well.

Egypt will not even consider resuming its trusteeship over the Strip, which lasted from 1948 until the 1967 war. Jordan concentrates its attention almost exclusively on the West Bank Palestinians. Israel's approach is to deal with the Gaza Strip issue in the context of overall Middle East talks — except that it resists having any such talks at this time.

When the strike began, the only thing Israel could think of was to send in troops. As Yitzhak Rabin, the Defense Minister, said, Israel has learned the "hard way" not to give in "to the use of force and to the use of terror."

The State Department urged Israel at least to stop using live ammunition, to employ only nonlethal means and to establish a riot control force instead of using regular forces untrained in population control. High officials there made the usual noises about negotiations, and the hopelessness of Gaza. Meanwhile, Gaza bleeds.

Lighting Lonely Lives

A man, lonely in old age, his eyesight dimmed, still holds on to the dignity of his spare room. But he needs help at the grocery store, as well as a break in the loneliness.

Other old people are in need: widows who have held on alone for years but are now sinking into poverty and ill health; couples determined to maintain the independence of their own apartments and not submit to confinement in nursing homes.

All need the touch of helping hands and hearts. A visiting nurse can help the ailing and infirm remain in their homes. By shopping for groceries and tending to small household chores, a part-time helper can make continued independence possible. Even a warm sweater, coat or blanket can make the deepest winter chill seem more bearable. This is the time to remember the cold and lonely, ill



Harry Pincus

and friendless. Amid last-minute preparations for the holiday's warmth and good cheer, this is the moment to think of the less fortunate, old and young and cheerless. As homes glitter with light and love, the warmth can be extended, by responding to the 76th annual appeal of The New York Times Neediest Cases Fund.

The fund conveys every dollar contributed to the needy through eight social service agencies. No money is kept back for costs of administration, and there is no solicitation except in the pages of The New York Times and on WQXR radio.

Donations are deductible for tax and estate purposes, in accordance with the tax laws. Checks should be made payable to The New York Times Neediest Cases Fund and mailed to P.O. Box 5193, General Post Office, New York, N.Y. 10087.

Nigerian Nightmare

Marie McBroom of Jersey City worked for years as a travel agent to interest other blacks in visiting Nigeria. Her reward was to be held without charges in a fetid Lagos jail for 10 months in a dispute over alleged illegal exporting. When she was threatened with execution in 1985, the resulting international uproar forced her release.

Now the Nigerians again are mistreating an American citizen. Herbert Rooks, a businessman from Odessa, Tex., was imprisoned without charges from Aug. 11 to Nov. 23 in a foul cell where he lost 50 pounds and is said to have contracted malaria.

Mr. Rooks, a director of United States Oil Co., is apparently being used as a hostage by security police in a commercial dispute between his company and the National Nigerian Petroleum Co. Now he is confined in custody and forbidden to leave Nigeria.

Embarrassed Nigerian diplomats simply decline to discuss the case, a reflection of the fear aroused by secret police thus seemingly answerable to no laws. Can Nigeria's military rulers explain why any prudent American should ever risk a business trip to Lagos?

Topics of The Times

Tell Riders Where to Get Off

For such a big city, New York's street signs seem very small, particularly when glimpsed from a moving bus. Rush-hour standees have a tough time seeing them; the nearsighted can't make out what they say. When it is raining or dark, travelers depend on the kindness of strangers to find out where they are. Every so often, it would help to hear the driver's point of view.

One might think that drivers would relish telling passengers where to get off. But in the six years that public address systems have been standard equipment on city buses, drivers have proved reluctant to call out locations of stops and to make other announcements, and the equipment has suffered neglect. Now the Metropolitan Transportation Authority has spent tens of thousands of dollars replacing defective microphones and is planning to buy up to 600 more. The expenditures are justified only if the agency can make the drivers talk.

Harried, they may resent another task. But then it would gain them freedom from hasty shouts for stops or bangs on the back door. Announcements ought to be part of every bus driver's routine.

Letters

Old Habits of Distrust Lurk on Road to Peace

To the Editor:

William Safire gave us his enlightening sequel to "Danger: Gorbachev" called "The Risks of Distrust" (column, Dec. 9). He states that the Soviet Union is financing "subversion and terrorism in Africa, the Middle East and Central America" at a time when the United States has been funding the Contras, Angolan guerrillas and Afghan rebels for many years. We are supposed to believe that it is totally the fault of the Russians that we are involved in these countries. But supposedly we are a nation that can be trusted.

I applaud Georgi Arbatov for saying that the Soviet Union would like to "deprive America of The Enemy" (letter, Dec. 8) and for adding that we should be doing the same or we will look like an outcast nation in the international community. To some degree the United States has already made itself an outcast when it rejects the World Court's rulings and makes drastic cuts in United Nations spending. We are taking our ball home to play when we don't like the rules. But supposedly we are a nation that can be trusted.

Mr. Arbatov does not say that "The Enemy" is completely gone from his country, but neither is it from ours. Yes, there are human rights problems in the Soviet Union, including Jews, Moslems and other groups, but there are problems in this country, too, that the Russians see as equally troubling in nature, such as the homelessness and jobless.

I agree with Mr. Safire when he says "let's have regular summits, examine each other's 'new words' and remember old words." Examining each other's new words, ideas and proposals is key to having a peaceful future. Having a President that calls the Soviet Union an "evil empire" and missiles "peacekeepers" is not the best way to strive for peace. But supposedly we are a nation that can be trusted.

Mikhail Gorbachev did not become head of the Soviet Union by accident; he is a knowledgeable and cunning man. Never have we seen this kind of cultural progress and new thinking in the Soviet Union in its entire 70-year history. He also realizes that there is distrust on both sides — something that the United States seems to forget. We must not close our eyes and ears to Mr. Gorbachev because of the mistakes of past Soviet leaders.

It is high time that the United States and the Soviet Union started acting mature in their relationships with each other and the rest of the

world. The intermediate nuclear force treaty was only a start to what one hopes will be a path toward more constructive summits and treaties. Yes, Mr. Arbatov, the pens of the far right are on the run, and I love it, not for vengeance, but for the love and hope of peace.

RICHARD VIRGIN
Ithaca, N.Y., Dec. 10, 1987

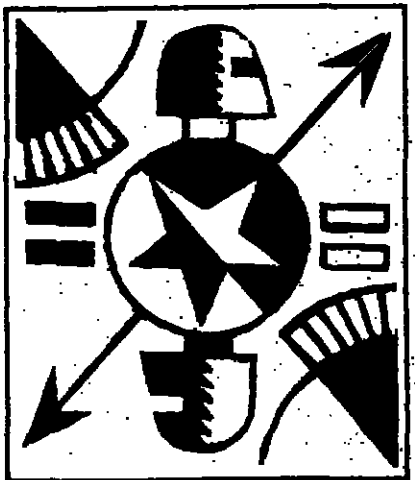
Not Fevered

To the Editor:

We are writing in response to William Safire's interpretation of Tom Brokaw's television interview with Mikhail Gorbachev ("Danger: Gorbachev," column, Dec. 2). We are in complete agreement with Mr. Safire's observations. Count us "among the shrinking minority that neither likes nor trusts Mr. Gorbachev."

We are also dismayed by the naïveté of the American public and its willingness to be won over by Soviet propaganda skillfully delivered by the Soviet leader in the NBC interview aired on Nov. 30. One need only read Gen. Bernard W. Rogers's report on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact on conventional weapons to understand that, as Mr. Safire states, "Mr. Gorbachev and his K.G.B. faction are deft tacticians whose purpose has not swerved from the long-term Soviet goal of world domination."

If, as Mr. Safire states in his conclusion, Mr. Gorbachev is to be trusted,



Bob Gale

we will not lose anything by remaining on the alert, but if Mr. Gorbachev is a farce, then the American public must remain skeptical to help protect the country's national interests.

MARINA WOROZOFF-DASHKOFF
HEIDI JOY JANOW
ROBIN ANNE HARPER
IBEN CAROLINE MUNK
Northampton, Mass., Dec. 2, 1987

Missiles in Treaty Have More Psychological Than Military Value

To the Editor:

In "The Right Treaty, Time and President" (editorial, Dec. 4), you wrongly state that it is only conservatives who oppose the intermediate nuclear force treaty and that the "Euro-missile treaty is the best way to fight those who would strangle all arms control." It is not that simple.

There are several political problems with the treaty that should not be ignored or forgotten. These problems have nothing to do with a liberal or conservative point of view. They are, instead, primarily based on the psychology of removing the missiles.

The missiles were put in place to assure Europeans that the United States had an unwavering nuclear commitment to Europe. It does not matter if there is any alternative nuclear capability available to protect Europe. There is nothing in place that is quite so reassuring as the Pershing 2 missiles.

The military significance of the missiles is not nearly so important as their psychological significance. If the Europeans believe that America is irrevocably tied to them through the deployment of these missiles, they are going to be more confident in the United States commitment to the alliance. That is why leaving some missiles in place, as Gen. Brent Scowcroft suggests, is so important. At least a measure of the original commitment remains.

I believe that Mr. Gorbachev has

supported the medium- and shorter-range missile treaty not so much for its military significance as for the psychological edge it could give the Soviet Union. He is willing to wait out the United States in the battle to win the hearts and minds of Europeans.

The Russians could win in Europe, not by using tanks, guns and bombs, but by making the Europeans concerned about the depth of United States commitment to Europe and, over time, apathetic to the Soviet threat. The intermediate-range missile treaty could be viewed as a step toward creating that atmosphere of apathy and distrust. Unfortunately, it is too late to back away from the treaty. The political damage in a defeat of it would be far worse for the European alliance than permitting it to go forward.

However, since the treaty is inevitable, the United States must not appear to be in any way lessening its commitment to Europe by withdrawing troops or even calling for the withdrawal of troops. It must move forward on conventional arms control talks, and it must not pull any surprises on its European allies on long-range-missile talks.

There are logical arguments against the intermediate nuclear forces treaty that have nothing to do with ideology. Those arguments have to do with the judgment that in order for an arms control treaty to be useful, it must be viewed as part of a

Women of Strength

To the Editor:

I am distressed by the press coverage of Raisa Gorbachev, including "Frost in the White House for 2 First Ladies," your front-page story on Dec. 10.

When will the day come that assertive women are portrayed as admirable? Surely Mrs. Gorbachev's questions to Nancy Reagan were not intended, as you put it, to "upstage" the First Lady, nor did I see her, as you say, "sparing." Rather, I saw an inquisitive, intelligent mind, which, like her husband's, probes more deeply than formalities and protocol usually permit. Not a word was written in a positive vein. Why are women of strength consistently undermined?

And when will we stop pitting women against one another? These two women are described as "strong-willed," which supposedly accounts for the "frost." Yet another catty feud, as with gossip-mill retreads of actresses on the movie set.

Ronald Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev are no more pals than their wives; they simply had serious business to attend to, and they are better actors. The destructive myth that women stab one another in the back becomes part of international politics.

Women of the world, unite. Be on the lookout for good role models in the guise of cats.

CAROLE WINSTON
Bronx, Dec. 11, 1987

Hounding Reporters

To the Editor:

Your front-page story "Frost in the White House for 2 First Ladies," accompanied by a charming picture that shows anything but frost between Nancy Reagan and Raisa Gorbachev, is unworthy of you — and the story hardly seems to bear the headline out.

If the atmosphere was strained, it is surely to be laid to the trail of hounding reporters looking for signs of rivalry and discord and repeating the same impertinent questions beyond all reason or common politeness. One has every sympathy for Mrs. Reagan's impatience with this pack; it would be two rare women who could bill and coo under such circumstances.

The American press on this occasion has done a grave disservice to our reputation for diplomatic hospitality, and to the cause of improved United States-Soviet relations generally.

WINFRED F. COURTNEY
Greenwood, S.C., Dec. 12, 1987

It's What You Cut

To the Editor:

As one who reads the editorial page before the front page, I want you to know how impressed I was by "The Treaty After the Treaty" (editorial, Dec. 9), on the proposed agreement to cut strategic weapons by 50 percent.

It is very difficult to say anything sane about any proposal to cut the number of nuclear weapons at a time when the euphoria created by the signing of the intermediate nuclear forces agreement is understandably dominating the dialogue. People seem to have forgotten that Stalin wanted to ban the bomb in 1945, when we had it and they didn't. Once you accept Mikhail S. Gorbachev's line that a nuclear-free world is and should be an achievable goal, any cut is good. You went to the heart of the matter by pointing out clearly that the issue is not how much you cut, but what you cut and whether strategic stability is improved or jeopardized by the cuts.

RICHARD NIXON
New York, Dec. 10, 1987

'We Do Not Receive Wisdom, We Must Discover It for Ourselves'

To the Editor:

Recently there has been much controversy over the media's scrutinizing of the past private lives of our politicians, especially those who aspire to high office. Commentators have referred often to the microscope of the media as it peruses the late adolescence and early adulthood of our public figures.

Perhaps while hastening toward November 1988, we need another optical instrument, not that of the media but of literature, to peer into the cloudy region of what constitutes an effective leader. Looking through the focused lens of Marcel Proust's "Remembrance of Things Past" sharpens our insight into how we, as an electorate, ought to deal with our politicians and their pasts.

In Proust's novel, the protagonist's artistic mentor, Elstir, speaks trenchantly about regret and the attainment of wisdom: "There is no man however wise, who has not at some period of his youth said things, or lived a life, the memory of which is so unpleasant to him that he would

gladly expunge it. And yet he ought not entirely regret it, because he cannot be certain that he has indeed become a wise man — so far as it is possible for any of us to be wise — unless he has passed through all the famous or unwholesome incarnations by which that ultimate stage must be preceded."

There may be those who "perhaps have nothing to retract from their past lives; they could publish a signed account of everything they have ever said or done; but they are poor creatures, feeble descendants of doctrinaires, and their wisdom is negative and sterile."

Elstir continues: "We do not receive wisdom, we must discover it for ourselves, after a journey through the wilderness which no one else can

make for us, who no one else can spare us. . . . I can see that the picture of what we were at an earlier stage may not be recognizable and cannot, certainly, be pleasing to contemplate in later life. But we must not repudiate it, for it is proof that we have really lived."

As we move into the final decade of this millennium, fraught with increasing danger and complication, we cannot afford two pristine Presidential candidates. What we need are two experienced politicians. Yes, experience does result in mistakes and failure, which are often an ugly blight on the past. But it also begets the wisdom requisite in a leader to insure America's continued survival in an uncertain future.

SEAN D. BRADY
Vestal, N.Y., Dec. 9, 1987



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The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Because of the large volume of mail received, we regret that we are unable to acknowledge or return unpublished letters.

Hart's Latest Blunder

By James Reston

WASHINGTON — The only possible explanation of the Democrats' campaign for the Presidency is that somehow it's being run by the Republicans.

They've made every mistake in the book except bringing back Senator Kennedy. Their best men won't run and their worst won't quit. It would be funny if it weren't so serious.

Here is a party that has lost four out of the last five Presidential elections. It had a good chance of winning in 1988 against a party that has presided over the most alarming budget and trade deficits in the history of the Republic, but what does it do?

It fields a team that has not impressed the voters but affronted them with a series of personal monkey-shines that have overshadowed the political issues.

Gary Hart is making a laughing stock of his party. He treats it the way he treats his wife: as a personal convenience. By returning to the race, he

James Reston is senior columnist of The New York Times.

kicked it when it was down and proved for the second time that his judgment is as defective as his conduct.

Let the people decide, he says. But the people have already run him out of town, and are not likely to welcome him back because, with his customary modesty, he says, "I have the power of ideas and I can govern this country."

Like the boy who murdered his parents and asked for sympathy on the ground that he was an orphan, Mr. Hart's chutzpah hits a new level of political arrogance, and the surprising thing about it is that so many people are taking him seriously.

Maybe they'll keep him on top of the personality polls. The monkey-shine vote in this country is very large, but when the leaders of his party reflect on what he has done to them, they may begin to take a whole new look at this astonishing campaign.

The hard facts are staring them in the face. In Vice President Bush and Bob Dole, the minority leader of the Senate, the Republicans have at least

come up with two experienced front-runners, and while there is some thunder on the Republican right, it is not surprising that Bush and Dole are leading all the Democratic candidates.

Also, since the visit here of General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev, both parties have had a glimpse of the energy and intelligence of the Soviet leader that the next President of the United States will have to face on the pressing questions of world policy.

The question now is not what Gary Hart will do, but what his party will do. He says, "This will not be like any campaign you have ever seen, because I am going directly to the people." This is very kind of him and not an entirely new idea, but he may be surprised by the reaction.

Something happens to a political party that is out of the White House that long. For one thing, it doesn't have the power to put its young men and women in the executive departments and agencies where they can gain the experience and build the foundation every party needs to survive. Already it is hard to imagine who the Democrats would put in the State Department and the other major agencies or Government departments if by chance they were to win next November.

As things now stand, their main hope lies in what the country fears the most, that foreign nations will stop financing the present borrow-and-spend policy and the economy will go sour next year.

Yet there is still a chance, not much but some, that the Democrats will come to their senses and insist on considering new candidates not yet in the race.

If the Democratic voters don't like the men now seeking their votes, all they have to do is express their dissatisfaction by staying home on primary election day, thus making clear to the convention delegates that nobody has enough votes to win the nomination on the first or second ballots.

It's an unlikely scenario, but not entirely silly unless the Democrats have decided, as some of them already have, that the Republicans should have four more years in the White House to preside over the deficits of the last seven years.

Gov. Mario Cuomo of New York, and Senators Bill Bradley of New Jer-

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Horacio Fidel Cardo

A coffin nail for the Democrats?

sey and Sam Nunn of Georgia keep insisting that they won't run, but they haven't said they can't be drafted.

A nominating convention is supposed to be a deliberative body that picks the person best qualified to govern the country, and not a rubber stamp for the winner of a few state primary elections and caucuses.

The primary and caucus system has given us Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter, Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson — not among the most illustrious of our Presidents — and after all of the staggering and blundering of the last few years, the world, if not the American voters, are hoping for something better.

The reappearance of Gary Hart on the scene, however, has been helpful in only one respect. He has created such a mess in his party that it will either have to wake up or give up for another four years.

ESSAY | William Safire

Our Deaver Lessons

I was rooting for Mike Deaver to beat the perjury rap. Not because I approve of the way he threw his weight around in the Reagan White House, manipulated the press, dispensed nest-feathering favors, sold access, lied under oath and ultimately betrayed his "closest friend" — but because he was both badly and wrongfully prosecuted.

The investigation of the Deaver dealings was slow-starting and too long extended; the office telephone of the prosecutor was unlisted, discouraging informants, and the power-dippy prosecutor all but declared war on the Government of Canada for standing on its sovereign rights.

Mr. Deaver was not charged with violation of the Ethics in Government Act. The independent counsel, Whitely North Seymour Jr., was unable to persuade a grand jury to indict the former White House aide for unlawful lobbying his former colleagues.

Instead, Mike Deaver was charged with lying under oath. That seemed to me a cop's cop-out: If a prosecutor cannot get a jury to indict on the central crime, or is fearful of losing at trial, he ought not to strain to put his target in jail for testifying about what nobody has charged was a crime. (An exception would be to coerce a suspect to testify against a higher-up target.)

Mr. Seymour is now on a publicity blitz and may parlay his court victory into a book contract or another bid for political office. His perjury prosecution succeeded only because Mr. Deaver was too smug to offer a defense, but the prosecutor is right about one thing: If Mr. Deaver's blatant sale of "access" did not constitute a crime, then the Ethics in Government Act (which should be labeled the Ethics in the Executive-but-Not-Legislative-Branch Act) needs fixing fast.

The Reagan White House fuzzed up the act by dividing itself into nine compartments, in effect making it easier to peddle influence. That huge loophole should be closed, and the act otherwise made much more specific, using the activities of Reagan aides as a guide to impropriety.

The law should prohibit a pattern of official deeds designed to be exploited for profit after leaving office. Mr. Deaver's influence on the White House invitation list enabled him, in my view, to build contacts for later solicitation; his power, through Nancy Reagan, to determine which political friends should be ambassadors could be seen as paving the way for representation of foreign clients.

This ethics act is Congress's handle on the White House. It was not Mike Deaver who triggered the act; his asking for such counsel to "clear his name" was a stunt to get ahead of the

action he knew was coming. Nor was the Justice Department inclined to move on the Reagans' closest friend, despite hollering in this space; it was Senator Joseph Biden, organizing a majority of the minority on the Judiciary Committee, who forced the appointment of independent counsel.

Special prosecutors can also draw a lesson from the Deaver affair: Dawdling lets the trail grow cold. The central evidence in the case was developed by Martin Tolchin and Stuart Diamond of The New York Times, who traveled to South Korea to get specifics on the meeting and photo set up by Mr. Deaver — through the U.S. Ambassador in Seoul and our National Security Council — between President Reagan and Kim Kihwan, a trade official. The reporters' story broke months after Mr. Seymour was appointed; none of their many sources had yet been approached by his leathargic lawmen.

Washington reporters and pundits learned something, too. They were

Close the loopholes in the ethics law.

aware of the Deaver greed early in the 80's, as he tried to exploit his office with a "White House Diet Book" and turned his wife into a rainmaking publicist. But Mike was such a good source, and his power to deliver access to the President and First Lady was so great, that few were willing to take him on in print.

The Reagans should have learned most. In his book, "Behind the Scenes," previewed in Life magazine, Mr. Deaver reveals that he was downing a quart of Scotch a day while he was Mrs. Reagan's closest confidant. (At the First Lady's behest, he repudiated the passage.) According to The Washington Times, whose George Archibald has been on top of this story, the Deaver book confirms conservatives' long-held fears that he and the First Lady conspired to soften the President's hard line toward Moscow, to cut off aid to the Contras, and to force out William Clark and Donald Regan. William Morrow, the publisher, is foolishly suing the newspaper; those passages in the galleys that upset the First Lady by exposing her political power-playing may be cut out.

Thus did Deaver's fall instruct us all.

Callous Statistics

By Frederick C. Thayer

PITTSBURGH — For a quarter of a century, most economists, all Presidents and virtually all members of Congress have accepted the general idea of a "target," "acceptable" or "natural" rate of unemployment that is needed to keep inflation under control. They argue that when too many people are at work, labor shortages quickly push up wages and prices.

In that quarter of a century, average annual jobless rates have moved steadily upward, from 4 percent to 7 percent, which is now considered to be normal. We have had that rate in 10 of the last 12 years.

Despite such tactful labels as "natural," these high rates have been quite abnormal for at least a century. Except for the great depressions of the 1890's and 1930's, only in 1908, 1914-15 and 1921 did unemployment rates match those of the late 1970's and 1980's.

Discounting some recent improvement, which may be short-lived, we are living in the third worst jobless period in 100 years. Eventually, tough questions must be asked of a policy that keeps seven or eight million people out of work — plus 25 million others who have given up seeking jobs or are working part time.

The jobless are not to blame for their plight. They are doing precisely what the policy asks of them: not working.

Intentional job shortages are the obvious cause of the "welfare problem." Many politicians promise welfare solutions ("Make them work!" "Train them!"), but this is pretense. Problem-solvers in the Cabinet, Congress, a Governor's mansion or the

Frederick C. Thayer is professor of public and international affairs at the University of Pittsburgh.

Presidential campaign would be embarrassed today to demand both large-scale creation of jobs and an end to the unemployment policy.

Just as economists and policy makers use theories and misleading data to rationalize the unemployment crisis out of existence, so too do they rationalize a depression in manufacturing.

While the official "capacity utilization" rate for American industry is creeping past 81 percent (this is dangerously high, according to economists), that figure measures only the capacity used by existing plants. Not counted are factories that have been mothballed and the capacity of overseas factories. Properly stated, global overcapacity in most basic industries, like steel and autos, is running at 40 percent to 50 percent.

Many historians, along with Presidents Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt, have cited as the recurring cause of great depressions excessive competition leading to overcapacity. Yet, what do economists prescribe most commonly for our industrial ills? Less "consumption," which means lower wages and cuts in Social Security benefits, and investment in more capacity, which means higher fees for the investment banks that finance that capacity.

The answer to the "welfare problem" is at least 10 million stable jobs, but there is only one way to create them. The nation's infrastructure (public works, environment, education, transportation) badly needs attention. Why not replace bridges and clean up the environment before disasters occur?

We need much more public spending, not less. The problem of global overcapacity demands some form of multinational planning, and even price and wage controls are preferable to the chronic mass unemployment that is now the callous underpinning of economic policy.

On New York Development talk

By Philip J. Hess

Hardly a day goes by without an exchange of fresh charges and countercharges between advocates and opponents of development in New York City. As the novelty fades, spectators may find the rhetoric less than inspiring. That is because the speakers masterfully cloak their intended messages in elegant abstractions.

Armed with an understanding of what each broadside really means, the citizen may find the debate equal to the most dramatic moments of a superpower summit meeting.

A handy guide to what some of the most popular tag lines in the debate really mean follows.

Example 1. When a developer says, "Development in this town is hopelessly tied up in a bureaucratic run-around," he usually means, "Whatever I am allowed to build as-of-right on this site isn't big enough, so I want the rules changed or exceptions made to enlarge my opportunities."

Example 2. When a neighborhood group says, "We're not against development, we're in favor of responsible development," it usually means, "The only development we would accept would be so loaded with conditions as to size, setbacks, open space and amenities that no rational developer could afford to undertake such a project, and no rational commercial or residential user would want to occupy it."

Example 3. When a developer says, "Uniform zoning rules have been sup-

planted by negotiations with the city," he usually means, "In light of the wonderful things my project will bring to the city, there is no need for a lengthy or deliberative process to consider the merits or impacts of the special rules I need to make it happen."

Example 4. When a neighborhood group says, "All we are trying to do is preserve neighborhood character," it usually means, "The neighborhood is perfect the way we found it and any more new arrivals would just spoil it."

Example 5. When a developer says, "What is needed is more comprehensive planning," he usually means, "A proper comprehensive plan would have permitted what I wanted to do on this site on an as-of-right basis."

Example 6. When a neighborhood group says, "What is needed is more comprehensive planning," it usually means, "A moratorium should be imposed on all development until the conclusion of a zoning study lasting long enough to discourage all developer interest in the area."

Even this abridged guide reveals that beneath the moderate rhetoric that each side uses is a profound disagreement over land use policy. The breadth of the disagreement, and the intensity with which each side pursues its aims, makes the position of the city officials responsible for land use decisions especially difficult.

They are beset on the one hand with demands that development be halted in many of what the market considers the most desirable areas of New York City. Yet a policy of no growth would risk economic stagnation and the loss of the city's hard-won fiscal stability. Equally important would be the loss

of vitality, curiosity and enthusiasm that new arrivals bring with them.

The city recognized the importance of growth through increased development densities on the west side of midtown Manhattan and through approvals of major private sector commercial and residential projects throughout the five boroughs.

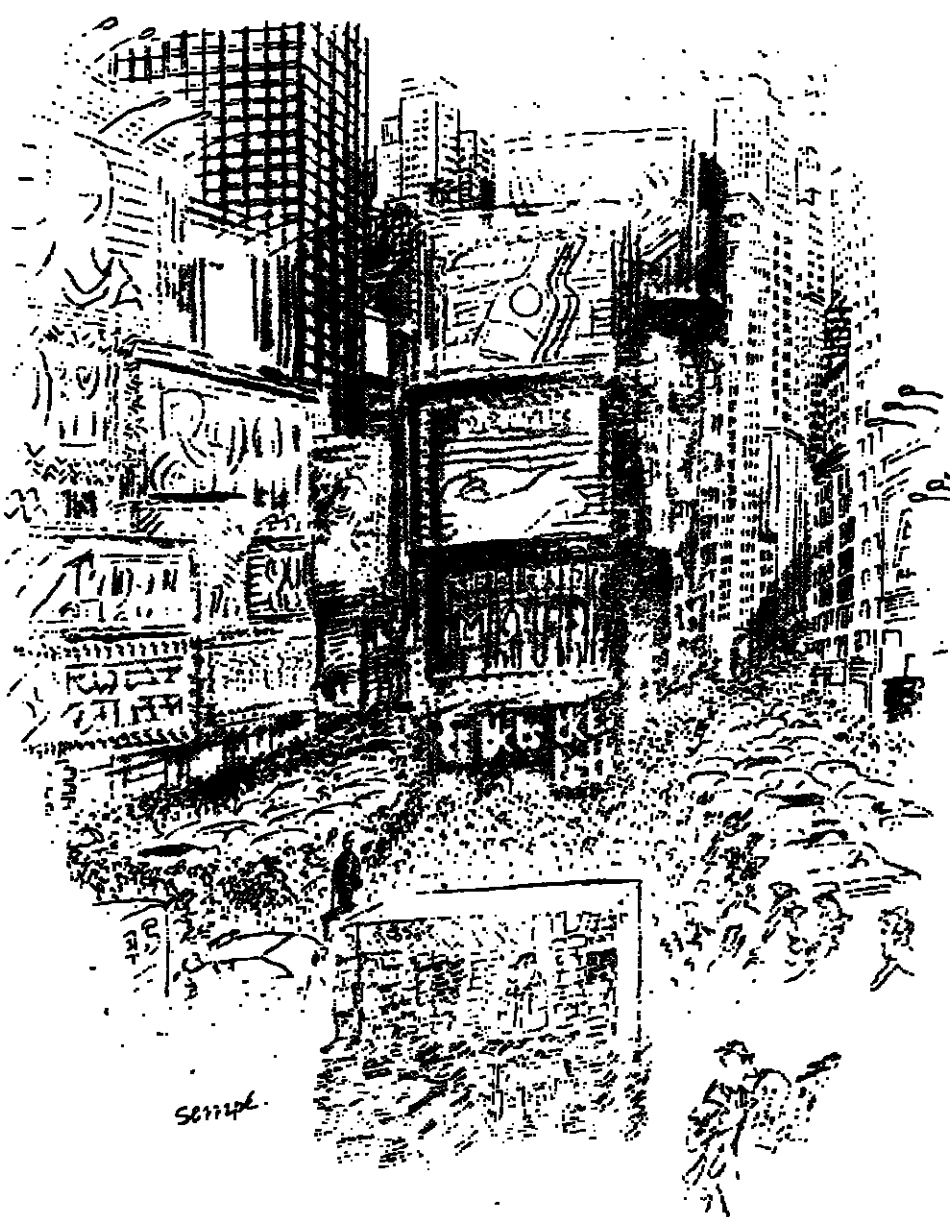
The city is beset, on the other hand, with demands for a blank check for development. Yet unbridled growth would result in stagnation as profound as no growth, as oppressive density and chaotic traffic caused disgruntled residents and prospective new arrivals to search for alternative locales.

The objective for public officials has been, and should continue to be, to achieve orderly growth and thereby insure a strong and stable future for the city. Defining orderly growth can never be an exact science, but it can be done so long as those engaged in the effort maintain a keen sense of how development offers both opportunities and problems.

The officials who make these decisions will find that the attacks from both sides of the development debate never cease, since neither side will settle for less than wholesale acceptance of its position.

The spectator who watches the debate may be entertained by the spirited give and take, especially once the actual message intended by each exchange is understood.

Public officials who must endure the attacks will have to find satisfaction in the common-sense notion that if both sides are so strongly opposed to their choices, they are more than likely on the right course.



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So maybe, after all these years, McLuhan was right. The medium is the message.

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The New York Times

What Lies Ahead: 40 Views

The economy has not done too badly this year — nor have the economic forecasters.

By ROBERT D. HERSHEY Jr.

WASHINGTON
Economic forecasters have been attacked in recent years for their apparent inability to predict many of the things that matter most — the continued growth in the trade deficit, say, or the stock-market plunge. Some businesses have closed their economics departments, partly for such failures.

Yet, with a new round of predictions upon us — it is the season of computers spewing out ever-increasing quantities of numbers — this judgment seems harsh. Professional score-keepers say that forecasters have performed relatively well of late. "Contrary to the popular opinion that forecasting has deteriorated, it has not," said Victor Zarnowitz, a professor at the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business and research associate for the nation's semi-official business-cycle arbiter, the National Bureau of Economic Research. In his view, forecasters have managed

to more or less keep pace with a job that in the 1980's has grown progressively harder because of frequent economic swings.

Professor Paul A. Samuelson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a close student of forecasting, agreed. "I think that the general state of the art has improved a little but at the same time the world that needs to be forecast has deteriorated," he said. "You used to be able to be pretty sure of getting things qualitatively right," even if the magnitudes were wrong, he added, "but even that has disappeared."

Last year's forecasts, in fact, seem to have been respectable. "I think we hit it pretty well on the head," said Robert J. Eggert, who edits Blue Chip Economic Indicators, a monthly newsletter of economic forecasts. He estimates that his consensus of about 50 economists is likely to be within one-tenth of a percentage point of actual 1987 gross national product and inflation. The prediction for unemployment, however, is likely to be too high by about half a percentage point. The Zarnowitz group also seems to have performed well. Of course, the tallying of 1987's economic activity will continue for months after year-end.

If forecasts have their limits, they can nonetheless help in thinking about the economy. Specialists such as Professors Zarnowitz and Samuelson, along with Lawrence R. Klein of the University of Pennsylvania and Stephen K. McNees of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, offer some propositions to help in evaluating the crop of forecasts for 1988 listed in the accompanying table.

• The consensus of a group of forecasters will, by

mathematical certainty, be more accurate over time than the predictions of most individuals.

• Forecasts of physical outputs tend to be more reliable than forecasts of prices or markets.

• Full-time and long-established forecasters do better than newcomers and those who forecast only periodically.

• Predictions for full years tend to be more accurate than for shorter periods.

• Errors at the peak of a business cycle tend to be greater than those at the bottom.

Some of today's frustrations over the limits of forecasting date back to the early 1960's, a period in which the economy seemed to behave according to the rule books. That created unrealistic expectations. Economists have worked at improving their forecasting skills, but have found that simply adding computer power to macroeconomic models does not necessarily improve results. Moreover, even the best economic insight is no match for a single bad assumption about policymaking in Washington.

What should nonprofessionals do when confronted with the latest array of forecasts, which this year reflect an unusually high degree of uncertainty because of the stock market plunge?

"For most households and businesses," Mr. McNees said, "I'd advise them to pay attention to the consensus so they will have some idea about employment and spending prospects."

But investors stand to gain much less from the forecasts, Mr. McNees added. "There's very little evidence that anyone can give you or sell you useful financial advice."

The Economy

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Ivan F. Boesky was sentenced to three years in prison for his part in Wall Street's biggest insider trading scandal. Mr. Boesky, once a leading arbitrator who amassed a fortune speculating in corporate takeovers, had pleaded guilty in April to one count of conspiracy to make false statements to the Securities and Exchange Commission. Mr. Boesky could have been sentenced to up to five years and ordered to pay a \$250,000 fine. But Judge Morris E. Lasker of Federal District Court in Manhattan noted that he had already paid a \$100 million civil penalty to the S.E.C. Mr. Boesky is scheduled to enter prison on March 24.

Oil prices dropped sharply, reaching their lowest levels in 10 months, because OPEC failed to take action to stop its members from cheating on prices and production levels. Instead, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries simply extended the group's \$18-a-barrel price and its current production quotas through the first six months of next year. The price of West Texas Intermediate, the benchmark American crude oil, fell to \$15.58 a barrel on Friday, from \$18.31 a week earlier.

The stock market advanced sharply, shaking off fears of the triple witching hour, the quarterly confluence of the expirations of stock index futures, index options and individual stock options. The Dow Jones industrial average gained 108.26 points, or 5.8 percent, for the week, a record point gain. It closed at 1,975.30.

The Bank of Boston became the first major American bank to acknowledge that many of its Latin American loans were worthless. It said it would write off \$200 million of its \$1 billion debt in the region.

House and Senate negotiators approved a package of individual and corporate tax law changes that would raise \$9 billion in new taxes in 1988 and another \$14 billion in 1989.

Mexico's central bank devalued the peso by 18 percent against the dollar to bring the official exchange rate more in line with the free market rate. By the end of the week, the peso trading at 2,280 to the dollar.

The A. H. Robins Company said it had received a takeover offer from



Ivan F. Boesky

Sanofi, a French pharmaceutical company. Robins said the deal would provide the \$2.48 billion it needs to compensate women injured by its Dalkon Shield birth control device.

Consumer prices rose three-tenths of 1 percent in November and consumer spending advanced five-tenths of 1 percent. The increase in the Government's Consumer Price Index followed an October rise of four-tenths of 1 percent. It brought this year's inflation to an annual rate of 4.7 percent.

Home construction rebounded last month after dropping in October. The Government said that housing starts rose 7.5 percent.

Industrial production rose four-tenths of 1 percent in November, and the nation's factories, mines and utilities operated at 81.7 percent of capacity, the highest level in more than three years.

The British Petroleum Company said it would attempt to take over Britoil P.L.C. in a bid that values the company at more than \$4 billion. British Petroleum already owns 24.9 percent of Britain's largest independent oil company. The move is opposed by the British Government.

An Indian court ordered the Union Carbide Corporation to pay about \$270 million as interim compensation to victims of the 1984 Bhopal gas disaster.

JACK LYNCH



An Array of Economic Predictions

A selection of current economic forecasts from about 50 monitored monthly by Robert J. Eggert for Blue Chip Economic Indicators and about 30 monitored annually by Victor Zarnowitz for Economic Forecasts: A Worldwide Survey.

Best Guesses for 1988...

	Real G.N.P.* Percent change from 1987	Inflation Rate** Percent change from 1987	Interest Rate Average rate for three-month Treasury bills	Unemployment Average percentage rate of all civilian workers	Real G.N.P.* Predictions made in Dec. 1986 for 1987 Real G.N.P. growth*
Boston Research Assoc.	3.7%	3.6%	6.5%	5.9%	4.3%
Prudential Insurance	3.3	3.8	5.5	6.0	3.9
Harris Bank	3.6	3.5	7.0	5.9	3.3
University of Texas	3.5	2.4	4.7	5.7	n.a.
U.S. Trust Co.	3.1	4.2	6.0	5.7	2.6
Irving Trust Co.	3.0	4.2	7.6	5.5	3.4
U.S. Chamber of Commerce	3.0	3.0	5.2	5.7	2.7
First National Bank, Chicago	2.9	4.7	7.4	5.6	2.5
J. C. Penney Co.	2.9	3.9	6.6	5.6	n.a.
Marine Midland Bank	2.9	4.0	6.6	6.0	3.6
Sears Roebuck	2.9	3.5	6.5	6.1	2.9
Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.	2.8	3.2	n.a.	5.8	2.5
First Boston Corp.	2.8	3.5	n.a.	5.7	2.5
Polyconomics Inc.	2.6	2.2	5.9	6.1	3.8
Peter L. Bernstein	2.5	4.0	6.2	6.0	2.2
Chase Manhattan Bank	2.5	4.0	n.a.	5.9	2.1
Evans Economics	2.5	3.4	5.6	6.9	1.9
Mortgage Bankers Assoc.	2.5	3.2	6.5	6.0	2.5
Amoco	2.4	3.5	5.5	5.7	2.0
Security Pacific National Bank	2.4	4.1	6.8	6.1	2.5
WEFA (Wharton Econometrics)	2.3	3.8	6.9	6.2	3.3
Bankers Trust	2.1	4.1	7.2	5.7	2.6
Philadelphia National Bank	2.1	3.6	6.2	6.1	2.3
Shearson Lehman Bros.	2.0	3.6	5.7	6.4	2.5
Bank of America	1.9	3.3	6.0	6.0	2.2
Paine Webber	1.8	3.2	5.9	6.1	n.a.
Standard & Poor's	1.8	3.2	5.2	6.0	2.7
Georgia State University	1.7	3.5	5.8	6.2	1.8
Pennzoil	1.6	3.4	7.7	6.3	2.6
Merrill Lynch Economics	1.5	3.9	5.9	6.3	1.9
E.I. du Pont & Co.	1.4	4.3	5.1	6.4	3.5
Conference Board	1.3	3.0	5.5	6.5	2.1
General Motors	1.3	3.1	5.1	6.3	2.6
Morgan Stanley	1.3	3.7	6.4	6.4	1.8
Chrysler	1.1	3.8	5.2	6.3	1.7
Manufacturers Hanover Trust	0.1	3.7	5.6	6.6	2.7
American National Bank	-0.3	3.7	6.0	6.8	3.2
U.C.L.A. Business Forecast	-0.8	2.9	5.3	7.1	3.4
Arthur D. Little	-0.9	3.4	5.3	7.2	-0.7
Business Economics Inc.	-2.0	4.0	6.3	7.5	-1.0
Zarnowitz average of 30 forecasts	2.0	3.5	6.0	6.1	2.6
Eggert "Blue Chip" average of 51 forecasts	2.0	3.6	6.0	6.2	2.5

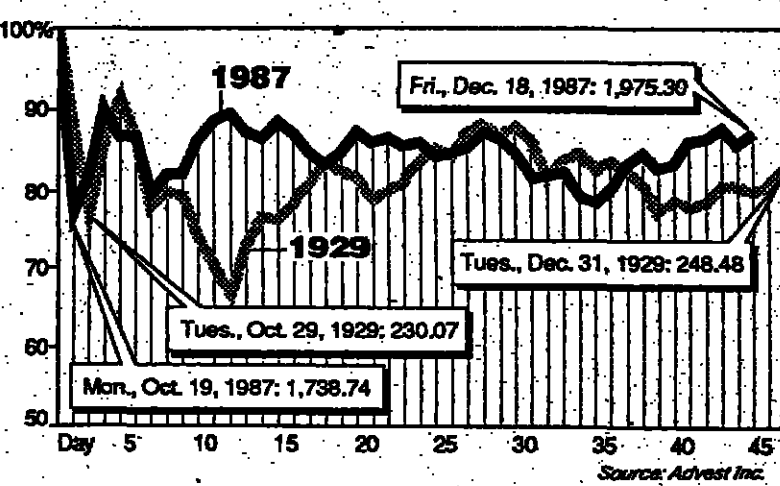
* Real gross national product is corrected for inflation by holding 1982 dollars constant. For the first nine months of 1987, real G.N.P. grew at an annualized rate of 3.7 percent.

** As measured by the gross national product deflator, an index of all prices in the economy.

Sources: Victor Zarnowitz, Economic Forecasts: A Worldwide Survey, Elsevier Science Publishers, Amsterdam; Robert J. Eggert, Blue Chip Economic Indicators, Sedona, Ariz.

The Dow Jones: Today Versus 1929

The daily closes of the Dow Jones industrial average, indexed so that the starting points equal 100 percent, thereby showing the day-by-day percent recovery of the Dow. For 1929 (gray line), the starting point is Saturday, Oct. 26, when the Dow closed at 298.97. For 1987 (black line), the starting point is Friday, Oct. 16, when the Dow closed at 2,246.74.



The New York Times, Dec. 20, 1987

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED DECEMBER 18, 1987

(Consolidated)

Company Sales Last Net Chg

Port G C 13,278,900 21% - 1/2

Gen El 11,132,000 45% + 2 1/2

Exxon 11,052,200 40 + 3/4

AT&T 10,970,200 29% + 1 1/4

IBM 10,887,100 117% + 7 1/2

TEC 10,054,300 38% + 2 1/2

Citicorp 9,145,100 18% + 1 1/2

Navistar 8,720,400 4% + 1/2

Stor Tch 8,546,400 1% + 1/2

A Exp 8,499,400 23% + 1 1/2

Schlmb 7,852,000 30 + 1 1/2

E Kodk 7,454,500 50% + 5 1/2

USX 6,577,700 30 - 1/2

Unisys 6,261,400 34% + 4 1/2

Pac G E 6,190,100 15% - 1/2

Standard & Poor's

400 Indust 287.5 271.0 287.5 +13.29

20 Transp 195.6 179.3 194.4 +14.79

40 Util 104.8 100.2 104.5 + 4.13

40 Financial 21.7 20.3 21.7 + 1.35

500 Stocks 249.1 235.0 249.1 +13.84

Dow Jones

30 Indust 1987.2 1860.4 1975.3 +108.26

20 Transp 75.8 698.7 767.2 + 68.29

15 Util 180.0 173.9 178.0 + 2.43

65 Comb 733.9 684.1 728.6 + 42.09

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED DEC. 18, 1987

(Consolidated)

Company Sales Last Net Chg

Wang 3,107,600 11% +1 1/2

Tex Air 2,350,400 12% +1 1/2

EchBay 2,117,900 22% -1 1/2

GCdaR 2,085,400 12% - 3/4

WDigit 1,553,700 15% +1 1/2

LoTel 1,511,100 8% + 3/4

Haskb 1,306,300 12% + 3/4

Amahl 1,254,100 36% +7 1/2

NY Times 1,146,800 31% +2 1/2

Atari 1,015,100 7% +1 1/2

MARKET DIARY

Last Prev

Advances 1,517 1,260

Declines 469 712

Total Issues 2,159 2,173

New Highs 11 8

New Lows 164 364

VOLUME Last Prev

(4 P.M. New York Close) Week To Date

Total Sales 1,061,200 46,572,699,650

Same Per. 1986 853,619,302 34,823,878,448

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High Low Last Change

New York Stock Exchange

Indust 167.6 159.6 167.6 +9.29

Transp 121.9 113.5 121.7 +8.74

Util 68.8 66.7 68.8 +2.44

Finance 114.3 107.9 114.3 +6.53

Compos 139.1 132.6 139.1 +7.36

MARKET DIARY

Last Prev

Advances 615 450

Declines 257 401

Unchanged 156 178

Total Issues 1,028 1,029

New Highs 6 8

New Lows 99 217

VOLUME

Last Prev

(4 P.M. New York Close) Week To Date

Total Sales 74,259,885 3,380,396,070

Same Per. 1986 64,103,920 2,888,336,094

Areas' Bar Association not debarred

Asher Felix Landau

In the Supreme Court sitting as the High Court of Justice before Justice Menahem Elon, Justice Avraham Halima and Justice Eliezer Goldberg, in the matter of Advocate Tahini and Others, Petitioners, versus the Minister of Defence, the Area Commander of Judea and Samaria, and the Head of the Civil Administration in Judea and Samaria, Respondents (H.C. 507/85):

AT THE TIME of the Six Day War, there were some 150 advocates in Judea, Samaria and East Jerusalem, licensed under Jordanian law, and organized in the Jordanian Society of Advocates, with its headquarters in Amman. After the war, those advocates ceased to practise in these areas, but after a few years some 70 of them resumed practice, and as a result were struck off the Jordanian register of practitioners.

Meanwhile, some 110 other advocates had been authorized to practise in Judea and Samaria, so that there were now some 180 advocates in practice there who were not organized in any professional society.

In November 1984, the petitioners requested the area commander of Judea and Samaria to establish a society of advocates which would function under Jordanian law. This he refused to do, and the petitioners then obtained an order from the High Court of Justice directing him to do so.

The commander then issued an order authorizing the establishment of a society of advocates by the head of the Civil Administration, in which the powers formerly enjoyed by the society under Jordanian law were seriously curtailed. The petitioners thereupon approached the High Court again for relief.

THE JUDGMENT of the court was given by Justice Eliezer Goldberg. The Jordanian Law, he said, laid down a comprehensive framework for the legal profession. It defined the functions of advocates, their rules of ethics, and their rights and obligations. It provided that the chairman and members of the council of the society would be elected by

a general meeting, which would also be empowered to establish branches, notifying the Ministry of Justice thereof.

The council was also authorized to manage the property of the society, to frame the budget, and to collect dues. It was given the status of a legal entity enjoying financial independence, and was empowered to make regulations subject to confirmation by a general meeting, to convene such meetings, and to take all the necessary steps for managing the society's finances.

As against all this, the area commander's order provided that the chairman and vice-chairman of the council would be appointed by the Civil Administration, which was empowered to fix membership dues and decide how they were to be expended, and also to make regulations for carrying out the order.

Moreover, the order excluded the council's powers under the Jordanian Law to manage the society's finances and property, and to convene general meetings.

The order also provided for action against an advocate who committed "a disciplinary offence relating to a military court or army authority, or the security of the area." Such action would be taken on a complaint by the legal adviser of the area, and would be considered by a disciplinary committee appointed by the Civil Administration.

DEALING WITH the legal principles to be applied, Justice Goldberg cited numerous precedents of the Supreme Court relating to the basic right of association inherent in a democratic state, a right similar to, and closely associated with, freedom of speech.

However, he stressed, like all such rights, this right was not absolute, but could only be exercised with due regard to social order and the security of the state, its freedom and very existence "in the face of its enemies outside, and those who follow them within, its border." The military commander had to choose a path between the two poles — the demands of security on the one



The court was well aware, Justice Goldberg continued, that the commander knew the conditions in the area and was alive to what was going on, both openly and secretly, and it would not place itself in its position and estimate the danger involved in granting the petitioners their request.

On the other hand, even assuming a "reasonable possibility" of the commander's fears being realized, he had not tried to steer a path "between the two poles," and suit the measures he had to take to the degree of danger anticipated.

It had to be remembered that the sole object of the proposed society was to promote professional interests. Unless, therefore, there was some degree of certainty that the dangers anticipated would in fact be created, a way should be found which would not strip the society of all its professional independence, particularly in the case of the free profession of law.

THERE WAS no need, Justice Goldberg concluded, for the commander to waive his right to make regulations. But his order as framed was far from restoring civilian life to what it was before 1967.

The commander had not weighed the possibility of the council being elected from a list of advocates submitted to him in advance, thus enabling him to reject members whom he feared would promote hostile attitudes.

Nor had he considered the possibility that the council would frame the budget subject to his confirmation, and that his consent would be required to the imposition of dues. Other ways could also be devised to maintain, as far as possible, the independence of the new organization.

The court decided, therefore, to set aside the area commander's order in its present form, and direct him to reconsider the matter on the basis of the judgment now given. It also ordered the respondents to pay the petitioners' legal fees in the sum of NIS 2,000, with interest and linkage according to law.

Arnold Spaer and Isaac Gabel appeared for the petitioners, and Renato Yarak for the respondents. The judgment was given on September 16, 1987.

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DAVIS CUP: Disputed calls 0, Code violations 0.

Indians earn tennis a victory

GOTHENBURG (Reuter) — Vijay Amritraj told the 5,000 spectators in the Scandinavium arena: "The Davis Cup is back where it belongs ... With the best team in the world."

"It has been a pleasure playing in Gothenburg because the Swedish team are not only the most powerful in the world, they are also the most sporting," Said India's playing captain.

Amritraj has called India's achievement a "fairytale", but there was never the remotest chance of a happy ending against the all-conquering Swedes who could probably have chosen any four of 10 players currently ranked in the world's top 40.

It mattered little. Jarryd and Wilander lost an aggregate of just 15 games in the opening singles on Friday, and the set the Amritraj brothers claimed in the doubles was India's only success.

But the three days of competition were a victory for tennis as a whole, with not a single disputed call — let alone a code violation — to be heard. The Swedes collected the magnifi-

cent Davis Cup trophy, first won by the United States in 1900, from International Tennis Federation president Philippe Chatrier and were also awarded a special diploma of honour for sportsmanship from international Olympic Committee chief Juan Antonio Samaranch.

"They richly deserved both," said Amritraj, who confirmed he would continue to play Davis Cup in 1988. "This is the best team event in sport and it transcends tennis. We have brought India and Sweden closer together because of the goodwill shown here."

India reached their third Davis Cup final — they lost to Australia in 1966 and refused to play South Africa in 1974 — strictly on merit after excellent victories over Argentina, Israel and Australia.

"At two sets down to Martin Jaite and with Argentina leading by two matches to one in the first round, we were one set away from a relegation play-off in Czechoslovakia, which would have cost India our place in the world group," said a beaming Amritraj.

"Instead, I won a game with a mis-hit, went on to beat Jaite in five sets, and Ramesh emerged victorious from the fifth and decisive rubber."

"I really believe it was predestined that we should reach the final, so forget the result — just as all the Indian players will — I'm ecstatic just to have been playing here."

Mats Wilander made the final result 5-0 when he beat the Indian captain 6-2, 6-0 in the second reverse singles.

Earlier, Anders Jarryd showed Ramesh Krishnan no mercy in the first reverse singles.

Any suggestions that Jarryd might lack motivation, with Sweden already holding an unassailable 3-0 lead, proved groundless, as he raced to a 6-4, 6-3 victory in a 79-minute match reduced to the best-of-three sets.

Krishnan, who prised just eight games off Wilander in the opening match of the contest, struggled valiantly to give India their first success but, despite his sumptuous gifts, he lacks the killer instinct.

CRICKET

Man with golden gun fires again

KARACHI (Reuter) — An unbeaten 79 by Graham Gooch was all that stalled a final humiliation for England as Pakistan's spin wizard Abdul Qadir again brought the visitors to the brink of defeat in the third and final Test here yesterday. England's captain, Mike Gatting, has described Qadir as "The man with the golden gun."

Qadir took three wickets and only resolute defence by David Capel and then vice-captain John Emburey helped Gooch prevent a total collapse, as England moved slowly to 150 for five in their second innings by the end of the fourth day's play.

This gave them a precarious lead of 91 with one day remaining, after finally dismissing Pakistan for 353 in their first innings in reply to England's 294. But England, one down in the three-match series, will face a

further testing time from Qadir when play resumes if they are to avoid another defeat to end their strife-torn tour.

Qadir, who took five wickets in England's first innings, was brought into the attack after only five overs and responded by dismissing opener Chris Broad for 13.

The spinner later accounted for Neil Fairbrother for one and Capel for 24, but it was Salim Jaffer who rocked England's top order after they had recovered to 54 for one.

The left-arm paceman dismissed Bill Athey for 12 and captain Mike Gatting for a duck in the space of five balls to make the score 54 for three and still five runs adrift of clearing the first innings arrears.

Fairbrother completed an unhappy series by becoming Qadir's second victim seven runs later to

plunge the visitors even deeper in trouble.

That brought Capel to the crease, and he batted with confidence, pulling and then driving Qadir to the boundary. But, when he had made 24, he mistimed a leg-break to be caught at gully by Iqbal Qasim at the second attempt. That put England on 115 for five.

The position would have been even worse, had not Javed Miandad at gully put down a chance from Emburey when he had made only three, and the off-spin bowler, who made 78 in the first innings, made full use of the opportunity to keep England's slim hopes alive.

Together with Gooch, he added 35 runs in an unfinished sixth-wicket partnership to be underplayed on nine at the close. England took the last two Pakistani wickets in the first 48 minutes after they resumed on 345 for eight, denying Amir Malik a well-deserved century. Malik, who rescued Pakistan after they had been reduced to 146 for six, was underplayed on 98 when Phillip DeFreitas wrapped up the innings to finish with his first five-wicket Test match haul at a cost of 86 runs. England 294 and 150 for 5. Pakistan 353.

NBA

Dominique's 42 helps Hawks to fly

ATLANTA (AP) — Dominique Wilkins scored 46 points, including a tie-breaking rebound dunk in overtime, as the Atlanta Hawks edged the Utah Jazz 130-124 on Saturday night.

Darrell Griffith led the Jazz with 32 points, Karl Malone had 31 and Thurl Bailey 25.

Bernard King scored 28 points and Moses Malone added 20 as the Washington Bullets defeated the Chicago Bulls 109-96. Michael Jor-

dan scored 30 points to lead Chicago, although they lost their fourth straight road game.

Cliff Robinson scored 20 of his 22 points in the second half, including 10 straight in the third quarter, as the Philadelphia 76ers beat the Dallas Mavericks 95-90. Charles Barkley had 23 points and 14 rebounds for Philadelphia. Rolando Blackman led Dallas with 25 points.

Patrick Ewing scored 20 of his 27 points in the first half, and Mark

Jackson matched his season high with 16 assists as the New York Knicks routed the New Jersey Nets 125-93. Dallas Cowboys, Mike Gminski and Otis Birdsong led the Nets inching with 13 each.

Lakers 108, Clippers 97 (Magic Johnson 28; Nuggets 121, Rockets 117/Alex English 27 points; Floyd scored 23, had 13 rebounds and 10 assists in his debut since being acquired by Houston in a trade. Akers Oshiro 23, 13 rebounds; Series 129, Warriors 102 (Kareem Abdul-Jabbar 25, Dale Ellis 25, rookie Telford 23 and 15 rebounds, Ralph Sampson 20.)

SCOREBOARD

NFL (Saturday): Denver Broncos 20, Kansas City Chiefs 17; New York Giants 20, Green Bay Packers 10. Only games scheduled.

NHL — Saturday's games: St Louis 7, Boston 5; Philadelphia 5, NY Islanders 4; Pittsburgh 4, NY Rangers 3; Hartford 4, Edmonton 3; Buffalo 2, Montreal 1; Chicago 6, Toronto 2; New Jersey 3, Minnesota 1; Calgary 4, Los Angeles 1.

FRENCH SOCCER — Saturday's results: Bordeaux 1, Montpellier 0; Brast 2, Marseille 1; Cannes 1, Toulouse 1; Laval 0, Auxerre 0; Lille 1, Lens 1; Metz Racing Paris 2, Metz 0; Nantes 0, Nice 1; Saint-Etienne 2, Nîmes 0; Toulon 3, Le Havre 0; Monaco 2, Paris Saint-Germain 1.

BELGIAN SOCCER — Weekend matches: Warogen 3, Beerschot 1; Cercle Brugge 3, Charleroi 1; Beveren 5, Club Brugge 2; Gent 0, FC Liege 0; Antwerp 7, Racing Jet 2; Standard Liege 0, Mechelen 1; Anderlecht 3, Lokeren 2; Winterdag 1, Molenbeek 1.

DUTCH SOCCER — Yesterday's matches: Feyenoord Rotterdam 3, Willem II 2; Volendam 0, Haarlem 0; Ajax 3, AZ Alkmaar 0; Den Haag 5, Roda JC 0; Utrecht 0, Sparta 0; Twente 7, DOS'79 1; Den Bosch 0, PSV Eindhoven 2; Fortuna Sittard 4, Groningen 2; VVV Venlo 5, PEC Zwolle 0.

SPANISH SOCCER — Yesterday's matches: Real Madrid 1, Real Sociedad 2; Barcelona 2, Real Valladolid 0; Real Betis 2, Real Madrid 1; Celta 1, Sporting 3; Logroñes 2, Real Zaragoza 1; Real Mallorca 2, Osasuna 1; Sabadell 2, Las Palmas 1; Athletic Madrid 0, Sevilla 1; Athletic Bilbao 2, Espanol 0; Cadix 2, Valencia 0.

THE VAN LEER JERUSALEM INSTITUTE

invites the public to an evening (in Hebrew) to mark the publication of the book by

URIEL TAL

Myth and Reason in Contemporary Jewry

on Thursday, December 24, 1987, at 8:00 p.m.

Chairman: Nathan Rotenstreich

Opening Remarks: Shaul Friedlander

Lecturers: R.J. Zwi Werblowsky — Myth and Reason

Amos Funkenstein — Judaism and Secularity

Gathering and light refreshments at 7:30 p.m.

Albert Einstein Square

HU's Martin Buber Institute, ulpan of brotherhood

By HAIM SHAPIRO

Jerusalem Post Reporter

FRAGMATIC interests, such as the need to conduct business or to deal with the Israeli administration are the main reason that many Arabs study Hebrew at the Arab-Hebrew Ulpan of the Hebrew University Martin Buber Institute in Jerusalem, according to Kalman Yaron, director of the institute.

This year, the ulpan is marking the 20th year since its founding at the Sisters of Zion Convent on the Via Dolorosa in the Old City. During that time, more than 2,000 students, Jews learning Arabic and Arabs learning Hebrew, have passed through its doors.

According to Yaron, the ulpan

began offering its courses in the convent as a result of a religious revelation by the superior, Mother Aline, that the Catholic institution, which had been founded by a Jewish convert to Christianity, could serve as a meeting place between the two peoples and the three great monotheistic faiths.

A feature of the ulpan is a tea break during the lessons, during which the two groups of students are encouraged to mix, as well as joint outings and holiday celebrations.

In 1972, the ulpan moved to the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus, where, according to Yaron, it sacrificed the unique, romantic atmosphere of the convent; but the university provided the studies with an

academic halo and provided spacious and modern pedagogic conditions.

Studies conducted by the staff showed that while most students studied Arabic for ideological reasons ("to meet with Arabs and converse with them," to better understand the Arab and his culture), the Arabs emphasized that they studied Hebrew for practical reasons ("for work and earning a living, to cope better with the political reality").

But he also cited cases where individual Arab students, who had been hostile at the outset, had formed close friendships with Jewish fellow students or staff members. Classes have continued, he notes, even dur-

ing period of tension between Jews and Arabs.

On a personal note, this reporter must confess to being one of the worst students ever to attend the ulpan. Though I, too, loved the atmosphere that pervaded the convent as dozens of Jews and Arabs gathered to study, I found myself almost unable to utter even a word in Arabic.

It was only years later, when I visited Egypt and found myself quite unable to communicate unless I did speak Arabic, that I suddenly found that although I was far from fluent, I could get along in that language and both make myself understood and understand others.

Something must have sunk in.

Casual festival

MUSICAL — Festival of works by young Israeli composers, organized by the Yoram Music Association (Beit Yael Lubliner, Ramat Hasharon, December 18 and 19).

THIS SECOND Musical festival of music by young Israeli composers presented five concerts which included no less than 23 compositions. Last year, Musican was a stunning, unprecedented musical event hailed by almost everybody. This year, Musican seemed merely a casual

compilation of pieces, most of them marked by lack of talent, originality and technical know-how. Others were painfully characterized by childish invention and a most primitive handling of the material. Among the 18 compositions presented in four out of the five concerts this listener attended, there were very few that justified performance.

The strongest of all was Meir Min-

del's "Tamar" for piano, flute and horn. It revealed great originality of style, depth of feeling and an elementary strength that never failed to impress. Mindel's statements express frightening pre-sentiments, as if they were predicting a catastrophe. He uses few tones, economizes in motifs and shuns any external instrumental exhibition.

Another impressive work was Semadar Handelsman's "Multipiano" for five pianos. Four piano parts are played from tape and the fifth is played live. The work superimposes similar material, creating heterophonic textures that slowly gain in density. By means of tiny rhythmic and melodic shiftings, a constantly changing sound panorama emerges. Though the idea of the work is undeniably original, it is based on a gimmick that can be used only once.

Ella Lazar's "Elegy" has a strong

emotional appeal and presents effective sound combinations. Her use of ostinato techniques and carefully veiled oriental motifs add further interest.

"Light and Movement" for harp by Steven Hornstein reveals a sensitive and poetic mind. "Two Isles of New Zealand," two songs to texts by Dalia Rabikovich for voice and piano by Ron Weidman, revive the cabaret style of Weil and undoubtedly possess charm.

These were the compositions this listener found worthy of reviewing. All the rest should never have been chosen. If Musican is to survive, new ways and means must be found to guarantee a proper level of performance. Musican must establish artistic criteria to make it an exciting form for real talent and compositional skill.

BENJAMIN BAR-AM

MUSIC REVIEWS

Beth Hatefutsoth

The Nahum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora

Beta Israel —

The Story of the Jews of Ethiopia

A study evening in English in the framework of the exhibition. Participants: Prof. Steven Kaplan, Dr. Chaim Rosen, Mr. Rachamin Elazar. A film on the Jews of Ethiopia will be screened during the evening. Tonight, December 21, 1987, at 7:30 p.m., at Beth Hatefutsoth (The evening is in cooperation with the Ben Zvi Institute)

Morning at the King Solomon Jerusalem.

Food for thought with The Jerusalem Post.



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The Hebrew University of Jerusalem Faculty of Law

In cooperation with the American Friends of the Hebrew University

Conference on Free Speech and National Security

Jerusalem, December 22 — 24, 1987

Opening Session Dec. 22, 7:15 p.m., Litwinsky Senate Hall, Mt. Scopus, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Chairman: Prof. Shimon Shetreet, Academic Co-Chairman

Guests: The Hon. Chaim Herzog, President of the State of Israel

The Hon. Avraham Shari, Minister of Justice

The Hon. Miriam Ben Porat, Deputy President, The Supreme Court of Israel

Prof. Stephen Goldstein, Dean, Faculty of Law, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Prof. Diane Zimmerman, New York University, School of Law, Academic Co-Chairman

Peter Fishbein, Chairman, American Friends Group

Introduction of Keynote Speaker: Norman Redlich, Judge Edward Weinfeld Professor and Dean, New York University, School of Law

Keynote Address: The Hon. William J. Brennan, Associate Justice, The Supreme Court of the United States

The American Experience: Free Speech and National Security

All sessions will be held in English, at the Senate Hall, Administration Building, Mt. Scopus, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Further Session Topics

Wednesday, December 23, 1987

9:00 a.m. Controlling the Media: The Challenge of Censorship

11:00 a.m. Plugging Leaks: Government Control over Information

3:00 p.m. The Limits of the Protection of State Secrets

Thursday, December 24, 1987

9:00 a.m. Media Coverage of Military Operation: The Duties and Limits

11:00 a.m. Media Coverage of Wars and Security Matters

Further details from Faculty Secretariat: 02-882528/9. It will be possible to register at the Conference. Fee for Israeli residents: NIS 90, and for non-Israelis \$150.

02/78/25/14

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THE NAZI WAR CRIMINAL ISSUE IN CANADA AND THE DESCHENES COMMISSION INQUIRY OF 1985-6

to be delivered by

Professor Gerald Tulchinsky

Department of History
Queens University, Kingston

Thursday, December 24, 1987, at 4:30 p.m., Maierdsdorf Faculty Club, Mount Scopus Campus, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Light refreshments will be served.

02/78/25/14

Politics was behind EC, Israel accord in territories' exports

By YOSSE LEMPKOWICZ
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

BRUSSELS - Next year, ECU super-markets and other stores in Western Europe are likely to be offering not only produce from Israel under the Carmel label, but also citrus fruits and vegetables labelled "Product of Jericho" or "Product of Nablus."

An agreement signed by Israel and the European Community Executive Commission in Brussels last week gives farmers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip the right to sell in the European market without Israeli brand names. That means they no longer have to sell through the Israeli marketing bodies, Agrexco and the Citrus Marketing Board.

At first view, this new arrangement appears purely commercial. It is, after all, a direct consequence of an EC decision taken in October 1986 to give the West Bank and Gaza Strip the same preferential trade concessions Israel and other Mediterranean countries enjoy. Industrial goods from the territories can enter the EC tax-free and agricultural produce are subject to tariffs 60 per cent below regular levels.

In fact, however, the matter is political. "This is particularly obvious if you consider the level of Palestinian export to the EC. For industrial farm exports are about \$2 million a year. This is nothing compared to what Israel is selling in Europe," an EC official notes.

The European Community has long sought to take unilateral action, however limited, to improve the living conditions of Palestinians in the administered territories. In the February 23 Brussels declaration on the Middle East, for instance, the 12 member states asked Israel to improve the living conditions of the populations in the West Bank and Gaza.

After their last summit meeting in Copenhagen, the 12 European leaders issued a statement pledging to

continue contributing to the economic and social development of these territories, without prejudging future political solutions. Some observers here said at the time that the EC's decision to put the two territories on an equal footing with Israel (and Jordan, as well) were "a new step towards Europe's recognition of the Palestinians' right not only for self-determination but also to have their own state."

Further evidence of the political aspect of the problem appeared when Israel argued that only the Israeli marketing bodies were equipped with the infrastructure necessary for the Palestinians to export their farm products to the EC market. But "the European Community could hardly accept that Israel continues to control the Palestinians' exports to the EC," an EC official says. "This is illegal."

Diplomatic sources here say the EC Commission believed its political credibility in the Middle East was at stake and thus held firm on the issue of exports from the territories.

Sources close to Claude Cheysson, the European commissioner in charge of all this issue, vigorously deny this interpretation. The only thing the EC wanted to do was correct an anomaly and give more coherency to its Mediterranean policy, they say.

But even Cheysson himself, while on a recent visit to Jordan, warned that Israel's continued refusal to allow independent exports from the territories would engender an "enormous political crisis" with the European Community that would mean no "new protocol, no nothing."

Israel, for its part, couldn't afford a major crisis with the EC, which is one of its major trade partners. Furthermore, the issue of exports from the territories had been unofficially linked to pending trade protocols

between the EC and Israel proper. Under the circumstances, Israel had to make some concessions.

Last week, the Israeli ambassador to Belgium and the EC, Avi Primor, and Jean Durieux, a senior official of the European Commission, finally worked out and signed an agreement on exports that was acceptable to all the EC member states, including Britain and Greece, which had taken the strongest position on the matter. The trade protocol between Israel and the EC was also approved, although last week the European Parliament delayed ratification of the accord until next month.

The main problem, however, remains. The Palestinians have no marketing structure. France, the Netherlands and Britain have offered to provide the Palestinians with technical assistance and professional training in marketing. Moreover, in order to implement the agreement, Israel will have to modify its customs regulations and give formal orders to its services. Cheysson has asked Israel to meet with the EC at ministerial level during the first quarter of 1988 to resolve this.

On the positive side for Israel, the settlement of the EC-Israel wrangle enables Israeli agricultural exporters to get their long-delayed tariff cuts on several products exported to the European Community, in particular for cut flowers, a very lucrative market in Europe during the winter season.

The technical protocol will make it possible for Spain and Portugal, two recent entries into the EC, to export their agricultural and industrial goods to Israel under the same terms as other EC countries. For Israeli consumers, this means, for example, that Spanish-made cars, like the Seat, will enter Israel with some 80 to 100 per cent tariff reductions. In exchange, Israel will have a preferential access to the Spanish and Portuguese markets.

'U.S., Israel face major trade gaps'

By KEN SCHACHTER
For The Jerusalem Post

TEL AVIV - Both Jerusalem and Washington face a continuing struggle to control their substantial trade deficits. U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering said Friday. And exporters in both countries will have to grapple with an increasingly competitive trade environment in coming years to correct the imbalance.

Pickering noted that U.S. industry emerged unscathed from World War II and, almost by default, became the pre-eminent post-war industrial power. In recent years, however, the U.S. has fallen victim to complacency and only recently has launched a "concerted strategy" to make American industry more competitive in the 1990s.

In drawing parallels between the two economies, Pickering noted that in Israel, too, "Many (Israeli) companies put their money into research and development rather than marketing," he said. "The result can be a terrific product without a lot of customers."

Pickering, addressing a seminar sponsored by the Israel Management Centre, defended administration trade policies, including the imposition of countervailing duties and anti-dumping fees, as measures designed to block subsidized exports and not to limit free trade. "We consider subsidized trade to be unfair trade," he said.

Some Israeli industrialists have argued that imposition of such U.S. regulations runs contrary to the spirit, if not the letter, of the bilateral Free Trade Area (FTA) agreement to lower tariffs.

Nevertheless, Pickering warned that there is a genuine protectionist movement afoot in Congress that would "advocate mandatory retaliation even when a country's only fault is running a trade surplus."

Pickering said that free trade - which benefits all parties - is too often portrayed in the same terms as a basketball game: at a certain point, play is ended, the points are tallied and a winner declared.

But protectionists in Congress, eager to see the U.S. put some points on the board, may take a different view.

ABIC LTD., a producer of chemicals and pharmaceuticals, said last week that sales would exceed \$40 million, an increase of about 25 per cent from the previous year. It said export sales in 1987 were expected to reach about \$13m, a rise of only 6 per cent rise, following a 40 per cent climb in 1986.

WALL STREET WEEK

Could 1987 end 'mixed'?

Thanks to its rally of the past two weeks, the stock market has a good shot at closing out 1987 with a net gain despite the crash in October. With eight trading days left before New Year's, both the Dow Jones average of 30 industrials and Standard and Poor's composite index of 500 stocks stand above their levels of last Dec. 31.

Other, broader market measures that include small stocks remain mostly on the minus side, however.

That raises the ironic prospect that a year marked by both a powerful rally and the severest sell off in modern times might someday be recalled as simply "mixed." The point may seem academic to anyone who has held stocks or mutual fund shares through the wrenching swings of the past few months. Still, it helps provide a longer-term perspective on what has happened.

If the S&P 500 finishes the year on the plus side, it would be the index's sixth consecutive annual gain, setting a record that would mark one last achievement for the bull market that evidently expired last summer.

The presumption is that a new bear market, of unknown duration and ferocity, set in as of last August. "Cyclical declines in equities generally do not bottom until the economy is in recession and U.S. consumption is weakening," observes Charles Clough, chief investment strategist at Merrill Lynch.

Even if it was enjoying nothing more than a "bear market rally," the stock market put on an upbeat show in the past week.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average climbed 108.26

points to 1975.30, surpassing the previous record weekly jump of 100.3 points the week before. The New York Stock Exchange composite index rose 7.35 to 139.15. The American Stock Exchange market value index increased 4.92 to 256.10, and the Nasdaq composite index jumped 24.34 to 326.91. Volume on the big board averaged 212.9 million shares a day, up from 189.21 million in the previous week.

Many analysts say it is unreasonable to expect confidence to recover quickly after a harrowing experience like the crash in October. Yet there are some observers who suggest the bear market will prove to be short just as it has proved to be vicious.

Edward Yardeni, economist at Prudential-Bache Securities, professes "unabashed optimism" about prospects for both the economy and the stock market next year. He contends that worries posed by the slumping dollar in foreign exchange are likely to ease and that interest rates are headed lower.

"U.S. government bond yields should fall to 8 per cent by the summer of 1988," from about 8.9 per cent as of late Friday, Yardeni says. "Not because we expect economic weakness. Rather, we believe that, relative to our inflation forecast [of less than 5 percent], bonds are attractive. A rebound in the dollar in 1988 should also bring back foreign buyers."

"We are especially positive on the outlook for stock prices. A new record high in the Dow next year wouldn't surprise us."

(Associated Press)

CURRENCY MARKETS

Rumours push dollar higher

The dollar closed higher on Friday as rumours of an imminent Group of Seven meeting swept the market. The currency had reached its highest level for the day - 1.639 Deutschmarks - after supportive remarks by Fed Chairman Alan Greenspan, who described the October record trade deficit as an aberration inconsistent with other U.S. economic data.

For the week, the dollar closed little changed against the Euro-currencies while slipping 1 per cent against the yen. The bearish sentiment towards the dollar prevailed throughout the week, and on Thursday the currency reached post-war lows of 1.617 marks and 125.8 yen.

This movement, however, was overshadowed by the sharp drop in oil prices and the resulting gains in U.S. stocks and bonds. Trading volume in the currency market was thin, evidently because most bank dealers have already closed their books for the year and are reluctant to establish new positions.

U.S. economic data continue to confirm that the expected slowdown in the economy has so far not materialized. November housing starts and industrial production showed healthy gains, but this evidence gave no support to the dollar. The dollar also lost interest rate advantage as falling oil prices drove interest rates lower.

The technical picture of the currency markets suggests that the dollar is still oversold. This calls for a correction, or at least a prolonged trading range situation. Bearish sentiment towards the dollar will prevent a substantial correction in the near term, but wide fluctuations on both sides in the course of the next two weeks is likely. In the current thin market environment, every move might be exaggerated and requires attention as to its probable development.

The column appears courtesy of Boaz Barak Advisory Services.

Foreigners buy up cheap U.S. realty

By DONNA SMITH

WASHINGTON (Reuters) -

Washington is falling into foreign hands as the cheap dollar makes it possible for overseas investors to invade the real estate market and snap up commercial properties at bargain prices.

Foreign investors now own about 25 per cent of the 4.7 million square metres of the office space in America's capital.

Economists expect that to rise. "In the last few years since the dollar has dropped, these properties have become a lot more attractive," said John Tuccillo, chief economist at the National Association of Realtors.

Foreigners also believe they can earn higher returns on U.S. properties than on investments at home, he said.

Washington is not alone in attracting foreign money. A study by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology said U.S. cities on both coasts were attracting overseas buyers and that foreigners owned about 53 per cent of Los Angeles' office space.

But the trend seems to be unique to coastal cities.

"You're not going to see any noticeable presence in the heartland," Tuccillo told Reuters.

European investors are the largest holders of Washington real estate, but the Japanese presence has grown substantially in the past three years, the MIT study said.

The British, Dutch, Canadians, Germans and Saudis all hold investment in Washington and the Japanese are using their extra cash to snap up prime properties, it said.

Most of the foreign investment in Washington and Los Angeles is concentrated in city centres. The study said foreigners are more comfortable with investments in the downtown business district than in the suburbs. Tuccillo and other economists say the U.S. trade deficit tends to encourage foreigners to buy up American real estate because they need some place to put their extra dollars.

"We are running a \$150 billion-a-year trade deficit. Those bucks have got to go somewhere and the best place to spend dollars is the United States," Tuccillo said. "Clearly the percentage of ownership by foreigners in U.S. real estate in certain cities has got to go up."

The U.S. Realtors (real estate agents) Association says foreign investors may spend as much as \$10 b. on U.S. commercial real estate in 1988. Realtors are pleased that foreign investment is sustaining a mar-

ket glutted by an excess of office space, but some local tenants are unhappy about the trend.

"Given a tightening of the space market, commercial rents will rise quickly to gouge or drive out many Americans who have a need and right to interact with their government here in this city," consumer activist Ralph Nader complained in a letter to President Ronald Reagan.

The corporate law firms and trade associations that occupy much of central Washington's office space can pass on the added costs to their clients. The non-profit organizations that may champion causes for the poor, farmers, taxpayers or consumers will be unable to do so, Nader said.

Japan coding pact

The Israel Coding Association and its Japanese counterpart have signed a bar-code cooperation agreement in Brussels. Coding Association chairman Arie Ginzberg said last week.

The accord was signed under the auspices of the International Coding Association. Japan is the world leader in application of coding systems. Ninety-seven per cent of its products are bar-coded.

Koor to dismiss 100 in steel unit

Jerusalem Post Staff

TEL AVIV - Koor Industries Ltd.

will lay off an additional 100 workers from its steel division in 1988, bringing the two-year total to 250 of 1,100 employees, a spokesman confirmed last week.

In 1987, 150 workers were idled yet productivity increased by 10 per cent.

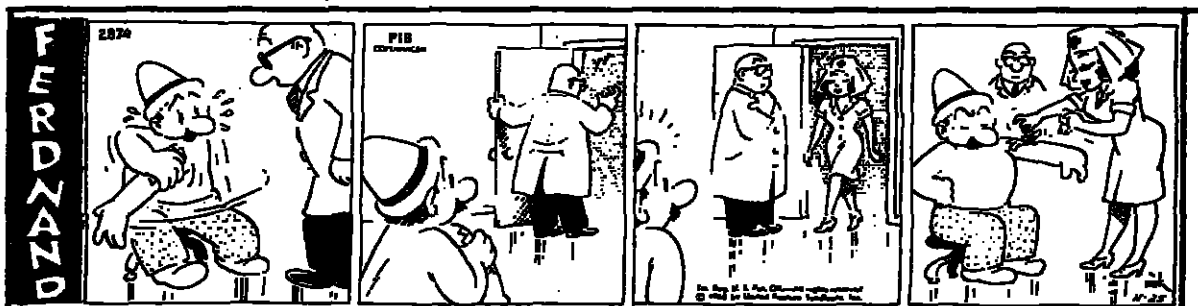
The primary layoff targets are ex-

pected to be in Steel City in Haifa and Middle East Tube Co. in Acre. Steel City manufactures iron for building and the Middle East Tube Co. makes oil pipeline and other products.

In a separate development, a Koor spokesman said Shimon Ravid was joining Koor's board of directors. It is widely believed that Ravid, currently managing director of

Hevrat Ha'ovdim, will be named deputy managing director of Koor within a few months, after receiving the approval of Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar and Hevrat Ha'ovdim Secretary Danny Rosolio

ISRAEL ELECTRIC Corp. has requested a government underwriting for a 30 million Deutschmark loan from foreign banks. The request will be discussed in the coming days at a special subcommittee of the Knesset Finance Committee.



CROSSWORD

- ACROSS**
- 1 Squashing critics? No, not rude enough (12)
 - 9 A view of duck on the wing (7)
 - 10 Hair-style to make a heavy-weight confident (7)
 - 11 Very big-hearted, yet indifferent (2-2)
 - 12 The female with an over bright colouring (5)
 - 13 Lists gratuities (4)
 - 16 A professional man who frequently stops at work (7)
 - 17 A team's right to appear in uniform (7)
 - 18 He would take stock of other people (7)
 - 21 In general seeing it end riles a twister (7)
 - 23 'The devourer of all things' (4)
 - 24 Proposal from Her Majesty (5)
 - 25 Lounge around quietly on the coast (4)
 - 26 A person scorned for striking players? (7)
 - 29 Put in the shade by a cut in points (7)
 - 30 The teacher could well be charming too! (12)
- DOWN**
- 1 About to edge a boy into lake (7)
 - 2 Article sent back if lacking in subtlety (4)
 - 3 A coloured guy's contact (7)
 - 4 In time this will get severe (7)
 - 5 Little money is to be found before the end of May (4)
 - 6 He sees eye to eye with anyone who is patient (7)
 - 7 Thought roads into Nice in need of repair (13)
 - 8 Enter private site demolished by memorable characters (13)
 - 14 Weapon of the Left in general (5)
 - 15 Bent over the Parisian, a social worker (5)
 - 19 Arab wants half—the jerk! (7)
 - 20 Rue 27 down conversion, which is a contradiction (7)
 - 21 The serving men bearing with a woman (7)
 - 22 Decorate again, up and down (7)
 - 26 Clutching silver so will get some food (4)
 - 27 Note the accommodation offered (4)

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H O U S E A R R E S T I S
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F S B T E S S
R O U N D A T R E A C L E
E A Y E A R N I C
N O R M S A O R A L
C G R O B I N C O
H A R D T O P L E A F L E T
W O C U P E H
C A S T K T T P F
A I N S H E A M R O L L E R
A D I N A A
N D B R I C K L A Y E R S

QUICK SOLUTION

ACROSS: 1 Inter, 4 Season, 8 February, 9 Satan, 10 Acriid, 11 Palfrey, 13 Oval, 15 Elaphe, 17 Pommel, 20 Tass, 22 Curator, 24 Titan, 26 Abbot, 27 Epitome, 28 Matelet, 29 Hates. DOWN: 1 Inflate, 2 Tuber, 3 Reredos, 4 Sherpa, 5 Sial, 6 Interior, 7 Nanny, 8 Alps, 14 Veto, 16 Acrobats, 18 Ostrich, 19 Lancens, 21 Arrest, 22 Chasm, 23 Total, 25 Trout.

QUICK CROSSWORD

- ACROSS**
- 1 Twisted metal necklace (6)
 - 4 Channel port (5)
 - 5 Asinine (5)
 - 9 Fit of temper (7)
 - 10 Copy (7)
 - 11 Curve (4)
 - 12 Uncooked (3)
 - 14 Skin (4)
 - 15 Confederate (4)
 - 16 Go wrong (3)
 - 21 Thought (4)
 - 23 Result (7)
 - 25 White wine (7)
 - 26 Speedy (5)
 - 27 Consumed (5)
 - 28 Lustrous (6)
- DOWN**
- 1 Alarm bell (6)
 - 2 See liar (anag.) (7)
 - 3 Ricketty (8)
 - 4 Gainsay (4)
 - 5 Poetry (5)
 - 6 Cure (6)
 - 7 Say (5)
 - 13 Unconventional (8)
 - 16 Wild cat (7)
 - 17 Ring (6)
 - 19 Oven-cook (5)
 - 20 Guard (6)
 - 23 Precise (4)
 - 24 Tart (4)

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Opec faces crucial test on oil prices

LONDON (Reuters) - Opec is at a crossroads. The next few weeks will determine whether it can convince a sceptical world oil market that it can keep charging \$18 for a barrel of oil, senior Opec sources say.

The sources say they believe that the group has the cohesion to stick to the letter of a makeshift price and production pact hammered out in Vienna last week to maintain its \$18 reference price for the first half of next year.

But oil traders say that unless the group ends the price discounting and overproduction that have eroded the group's control of the market, prices could tumble to less than

\$12 a barrel in a re-run of the 1985-86 market collapse.

"We are all serious," one senior Opec source said. "But let's see how member states behave. The next three weeks will be crucial."

He and other senior figures in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries fear that the group may have to call an emergency meeting in February or March if prices continue the tail-spin that followed the Vienna accord. The next scheduled meeting is in June.

Free market prices plunged under \$15 a barrel last week because traders think the group will pump well over the agreed 15.06 million barrels

per day ceiling, and some might offer discounts from the official benchmark price.

They later recovered, but the market is still nervous and very wary about the group's political will because of in-fighting between Iran, which wants to raise prices to \$20, and Gulf states which back Tehran's Gulf War foe Iraq.

Iraq refused to be party to the Vienna pact and has rejected every quota offered it since mid-1986. The Persian Gulf states sought to isolate Iran and reduce its influence by going along with Iraq's demands.

But Opec's moderate bloc, which includes members from Latin

America, Asia and Africa, blocked that effort, the Opec sources say. This bloc is now angry at Gulf states and is waiting to see whether they will adhere to their quotas and the Opec-mandated price or will continue to behave, in the words of one senior source, as another organization within Opec.

Some Opec figures fear that Gulf states might be more concerned about isolating Iran than defending the oil price. Several Gulf states, notably the United Arab Emirates, have produced massively above quota, undermining the united front the group says it wants to present to the world oil market.

Big companies favour dollar-linked reporting

By KEN SCHACHTER
For The Jerusalem Post
TEL AVIV - Israeli industrial giants yesterday arrayed themselves against a proposal by the Israel Institute of Certified Public Accountants that would sharply curtail the right of domestic firms to issue financial statements in U.S. dollar terms rather than shekels.

A public hearing held at Beit Sokolov prompted representatives of Israel Aircraft Industries, Teva Pharmaceuticals, Tadiran, Elron, the Dead Sea Works and American Israeli Paper Mills to denounce the plan.

The CPA group's proposal would allow reporting in dollars only by companies that could pass stringent standards, such as showing two thirds of their income were derived from dollars.

Eli Hurvitz, chief executive officer of Teva Pharmaceuticals Ltd., argued that forcing companies now allowed to report in dollars to shift to inflation-adjusted shekels would undermine the firms' credibility, particularly in U.S. securities markets. Nearly all the companies affected by the decision have issued stocks or bonds on U.S. markets.

Speaking in favour of the change was Prof. Amir Barnea, of Tel Aviv University's school of business administration. While acknowledging that the changeover would be a one-time, painful operation, Barnea said that for companies that operate in

the Israeli economy, only a report in real shekels is meaningful when seeking to gauge a company's performance.

Barnea, also member of the board of the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, noted that unless rule is instituted, the bourse won't be able to reasonably launch a new database of all member companies, since there would be no way to compare dollar-reporting companies with those whose finances are based in shekels.

Itzhak Ratman, president of the CPAs organization, observed that while relatively few companies currently report in dollars, they constitute the core of major industrial companies.

The problem stems from a 1985 ruling by the CPAs institute that allowed some companies to report in dollars.

"One of the reasons was that over history we saw that the rate of exchange of the U.S. dollar and the cost of living index more or less paralleled each other," Ratman said. "As of the end of 1985, it became clear that this assumption wasn't valid anymore. The rate of exchange of the dollar was frozen, while the rate of inflation progressed."

One of the companies allowed to report in dollars, Koor Industries Ltd., came under fire recently when it switched back to inflation-adjusted shekels in an apparent effort to put its finances in the best light.

No deadline was set for a decision, but Ratman said one was likely within several months.

Trade war erupts over ship rates

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA - A trade war has broken out between the Shippers Council, representing importers and exporters, and the U.S.-Israeli shipping companies, over their "unilateral freight rate increases."

Council director Arye Mehulal told The Jerusalem Post last week that following the breakdown of negotiations, the council has advised its members to trans-ship their cargoes to and from the U.S.A. through the competitive European ports, using the services of other shipping companies.

This followed the decision by the three companies in the conference, Zim of Israel, and Farrell and Lykes of the U.S., to impose a "terminal handling charge" of \$100 to \$150 per ton on all cargoes they carry in addition to a general freight charge rise of 2.5 per cent, from January 1, and another three per cent on imports to Israel from next July.

These increases would further aggravate the difficulties of exporters to the U.S., already hard hit by the declining dollar.

The Council has on the other hand reached agreement with the other shipping conferences on freight increases from January 1, to some \$40 million for the year.

On all European lines the charges will go up by four per cent on imports and two per cent on exports from Israel. On the Eilat lines to Africa, the Far East and Australia charges will go up by three per cent through the abolition of various reductions while the rates on the lines between Israel and Mediterranean ports, where competition is fierce, will remain frozen during 1988.

NOTICE

European and New York financial data for the previous Friday starting this week appear in Sunday's Jerusalem Post, instead of Monday's.

Armand Hammer venture

Oil drilling to continue

By LISA PERLMAN

The international consortium searching for oil in Israel's desert, Negev Joint Venture, led by U.S. oil magnate Armand Hammer, chairman of Occidental Petroleum Corp., has decided to continue its drilling operations after the first phase of its project ends next May, the director-general of the Energy Ministry said yesterday.

Nathan Arad said yesterday that

the group would invest some \$25 million in the second stage of drilling project, expected to continue for two or three years. About \$20m. was invested in the first stage, which began in 1985.

Speaking to The Jerusalem Post last month, Hammer reiterated his "long-term commitment to drill in Israel" and said he was undeterred by two "dry" wells that his group had found.

Texaco to sell assets to pay \$5.5b. settlement

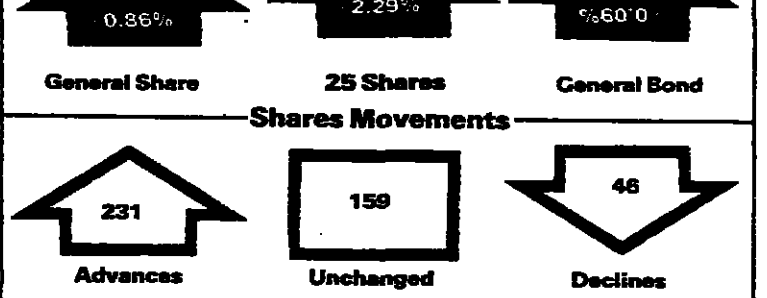
NEW YORK (Reuters) - Texaco expects to sell assets to raise the \$5.5 billion needed to settle its lawsuit with Pennzoil and emerge from bankruptcy, Chairman Alfred Deane said over the weekend.

"We will have to finance that," Deane told Reuters in a telephone interview on Saturday. "We expect to be selling some assets."

The two companies on Saturday signed an accord under which Texaco would pay Pennzoil \$3b. to settle their \$10.3b. dispute over Getty Oil Co. Texaco, the third-largest oil company in the U.S., would have to pay an additional \$2.5b. to its creditors to bring the company out of bankruptcy.

Lawyers said the pact, believed the largest financial settlement in history, came after marathon talks among the parties involved.

The company expects to undertake a wide-ranging financial restructuring, including the sale of assets and redemption of high-priced debt, after it leaves bankruptcy, Deane said. But he said the company had not yet decided whether to reinstate its quarterly dividend of 75 cents per share that was cancelled when it filed for bankruptcy-law protection.



Selected Prices

Name	Price	Volume	NIS	%	Change
Commercial Banks					
Bank Leumi	2400				
Bank Hapoalim	1485	1205	-0.1		
Bank Mizrahi	13000	88	+0.6		
Bank Leumi	8200	3020	+2.1		
Commercial Banks					
Bank Leumi	10160	214			
Bank Hapoalim	7580	124	+0.8		
Bank Mizrahi	13000	88	+0.6		
Bank Leumi	41760	317			
Bank Hapoalim	68800	1063	+4.3		
Bank Mizrahi	17620	5			
Bank Leumi	43851	302	+0.2		
Bank Hapoalim	58000	10	-0.3		
Mortgage Banks & Finance					
Bank Leumi	2701	30	+0.0		
Bank Hapoalim	2233	30	+1.5		
Bank Mizrahi	3560	650	+2.8		
Bank Leumi	22800	38			
Bank Hapoalim	8175	6	-0.3		
Bank Mizrahi	12588	—	-1.1		
Bank Leumi	23800	38	+3.00		
Insurance					
Asrat 0.1	1580	2512	-0.6		
Phoenix 0.1	770	888	—		
Hamshema 1.0	5400	50	-0.8		
Menahem 1	2056	58	-0.0		
Sikhar 1	376	3200	—		
Segev 1	1020	2244	+0.5		
Zion Hold. 1	4460	43	-3.2		
Trade & Services					
Intergas 1.0	768	530	+1.1		
Mor Ezer	745	2574	+2.1		
Crytal	783	802	—		
Supergas 1	11080	110	+0.8		
Lighting 0.1	715	489	+2.0		
Cold Storage 1.0	801	2205	+2.7		
Dan Hotels 1.0	1620	34	—		
Coral Beach	7250	28	—		
Hyden Hotel	3000	—	—		
Hyden 1.0	218	25000	—		
M.J.L. 1.0	11650	—	—		
Team 1.0	825	3068	—		
Real Estate, Building and Agriculture					
AI-Rov	331	3400	+1.2		
Africa Int. 0.1	43300	25	+1.2		
Aradim	2042	400	+0.1		
Dentim	6500	186	—		
J.E.C.	314	11880	+2.3		
Bayville 0.1	4338	510	+2.1		
Aradim	16700	110	+3.8		
Aradim Prop.	320	630	+0.8		
Madridim	6638	308	+2.3		
Madridim Prop.	1710	371	+3.6		
Industrials					
Duke	2500	207	—		
Tampco 1.0	38800	15	—		

Statistics

Stock Indices			
General Share Index	124.86	+1.74%	
Non-armed	124.15	+1.58%	
Armament	125.52	+2.22%	
Mortgage Banks	123.24	+0.24%	
Financial Inst.	126.37	+0.25%	
Insurance	84.77	+0.59%	
Commerce & Services	127.74	+1.42%	
Real Estate & Agri.	126.11	+1.27%	
Industrials	126.11	+1.27%	
Food & Tobacco	125.86	+0.74%	
Metals	87.84	+1.56%	
Textiles	125.86	+1.01%	
Electronics	84.74	+1.84%	
Chemicals	125.86	+1.39%	
Insurance - Invest.	125.86	+2.40%	
Investment Cos	125.86	+2.32%	
Oil Exploration	85.07	+0.91%	
Paralel List	67.72	+0.98%	
Bond Indices			
Index-linked Bonds	124.42	-0.11%	
Fixed Income	124.42	-0.11%	
Partially-linked	125.87	-0.21%	
Foreign Currency	125.87	-0.21%	
FC Denom. Bonds	125.87	-0.21%	
FC Linked	125.87	-0.21%	
Short-term 2-3 yrs	125.87	-0.13%	
Short-term 3-5 yrs	125.87	-0.13%	
Medium-term 5-7 yrs	125.87	-0.13%	
Long-term 7-10 yrs	125.87	-0.13%	
Turnovers			
Total Shares	NIS 13,946,000		
Non-armed	NIS 11,725,700		
Armament	NIS 2,220,300		
Bonds	NIS 5,961,200		
Treasury Bills	NIS 11,557,500		
Share Movements			
Advances	231	(167)	
of which 5% -	17	(151)	
buyers only	4	(3)	
Declines	115	(177)	
of which 5% -	4	(12)	
sellors only	0	(11)	
Trading Net	41	(40)	
Bond Market Trends			
Index-linked:			
3% fully-linked:	Moved to 5%		
2.5% fully-linked:	Moved to 5%		
80% linked:	Raised to 5%		
Double-linked:	Raised to 5%		
Rimon:	232.45	-2.00	
Gilboa:	232.45	-2.00	
FC denominated:	232.45	-2.00	
7.61%:	232.45	-2.00	
Arrangement Yields			
IDB ord.	12.07%		
Unarm. 0.1	11.55%		
Unarm. 0.2	11.55%		
Unarm. 0.3	11.55%		
Unarm. 0.4	11.55%		
Unarm. 0.5	11.55%		
Unarm. 0.6	11.55%		
Unarm. 0.7	11.55%		
Unarm. 0.8	11.55%		
Unarm. 0.9	11.55%		
Unarm. 1.0	11.55%		
Unarm. 1.1	11.55%		
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Unarm. 7.1	11.55%		
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Unarm. 7.5	11.55%		
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Unarm. 9.7	11.55%		
Unarm. 9.8	11.55%		
Unarm. 9.9	11.55%		
Unarm. 10.0	11.55%		

Prices may drop for cars paid for in dollars

By JONATHAN KARP
For The Jerusalem Post
TEL AVIV - The Transport Ministry is considering lowering prices for American and other cars purchased with dollars, a ministry official said yesterday.

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Explaining and explaining

WHAT ISRAEL WAS doing in Gaza and Judea and Samaria during the past several days, Premier Yitzhak Shamir said last Friday, was "right and just," and it should, therefore, have no difficulty in explaining to the world its position on the need to suppress riots and to restore order in the territories.

A reasonable conclusion, on the face of it. But upon scrutiny, it gives rise to some troubling questions.

If explaining away the disorders and their handling was so simple a matter, how is it that even Israel's firmest friends are shaken by reports about them? Is it because hostile elements within the Israeli establishment are sabotaging the effort at explanation? Or is it because the nations of the world, even the friendliest among them, are too dumb to tell right from wrong?

Or is it, perhaps, because the explanations that the premier and his circle find so overwhelmingly persuasive, lose their charm upon export?

One of the governments that served notice of its strong displeasure over the methods used in suppressing the disorders was Egypt's, which also warned that Israel's actions could wreck peace efforts. Cairo's several formal protests might be taken with a grain of salt, but they cannot be disregarded.

True, more than a little of the blame for stalling on a fair solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict rests with President Hosni Mubarak, whose major concern is plainly with regaining admission into the fraternity of Arab states. Yet the Egyptian government does have a point, and it does have a right to make it, even as forcefully as it does. To prove this right, it need only quote from the statement made by Mr. Shamir himself last Friday.

Israel's position, "explained" Mr. Shamir, "is basic and simple. Our neighbours must come to terms with our presence in this country... (and) it must be clear to our neighbours and especially to those who incite our neighbours that violence will lead nowhere." In other words, the Palestinian-inhabited territories now under occupation by Israel will remain forever under its dominion, no matter what the Palestinians or other Arab parties think about it. For Mr. Shamir, this is part of the striving "for peace."

In fact, it is a blatant denial of Israel's solemn commitments at Camp David to a negotiated, not imposed, settlement of the Palestinian problem, with the participation of Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinians themselves.

The Camp David formula, by which Mr. Shamir pretends to swear, does not prevent Israel from putting its case for a formal takeover of the territories when talks start on the "final status" of the territories. Similarly, Egypt is not debarred from putting forward, if it wishes, the case for the establishment of a Palestinian state.

But Israel, the *de facto* occupier, is debarred from unilaterally making the occupation permanent, under whatever label, and certainly from claiming legality for it. Under Likud premises, however, Israel has ignored that, especially after the peace treaty with Egypt was signed and sealed. Dire warnings that the Likud attitude might before long produce an upheaval in the territories, and turn the peace treaty into a hollow shell of peace, have always been wilfully ignored.

Now the chickens are starting to come home to roost, but apparently no amount of explaining will persuade Mr. Shamir of the fact.

ISRAEL'S GAZA STRIP policy seems to vacillate between "One fist of iron the other of steel, if the right one won't get them, the left one will," and a plain and simple *Gewalt!*

The Likud really has no problem on this. With a few enlightened exceptions, it supports the line of Ariel Sharon, who in 1970/71 cleaned Gaza of all its terrorists and inciters. "More of the same" seems to sum up this approach.

As usual, it is Labour, with its inclination to see a complex reality, that is in trouble.

On the one hand, the Labour Party platform speaks of Gaza eventually forming part of a Jordanian-Palestinian state, in accordance with which Jordan is being encouraged to become involved in its economy. On the other hand, Minister of Defence Rabin practices the "one fist of iron..." policy.

Between these two parameters, there is an enormous void, which is filled by all sorts of half-baked statements by personalities within the party.

There is Shimon Peres's statement in the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, taken out of context by the Likud, that when a permanent settlement is finally achieved, Gaza ought to be demilitarized. Deputy Minister of Agriculture Avraham Katz Oz speaks of applying the Camp David autonomy plan to Gaza first. Deputy Knesset Speaker Dov Ben-Meir dreams of Gaza turning into the Hongkong of the Middle East. Amir Perez, head of Sderot local council, threw out, off the top of his head, the idea of letting the UN administer Gaza.

Ex-minister of health Mordechai Gur has read all the reports on Gaza and is yet to come out with specific

Wanted: A policy for Gaza

Susan Hattis Rolef

proposals on the issue. SO THE LABOURITES are concerned with the issue, but that doesn't constitute a policy. However, there are several points and principles on which all Labourites seem to be in agreement.

Israel has no interest in continuing to rule over the Gaza Strip and its population, and will be unwilling to give up control of them if this can be done without endangering state's security.

Gaza should eventually form part of a Jordanian-Palestinian state (in which the Palestinians will constitute at least 85 per cent of the population) which will thus have an outlet to the Mediterranean.

As long as Israel is in occupation of the Strip, one should use every means legally permitted and morally acceptable to suppress terrorists, inciters and those who cause disorders.

It is important to avoid a situation of mass unemployment in Gaza, even if this means that over 100,000 of its inhabitants must travel into Israel every day.

The fact that so much of the manual labour in Israel is performed by Arabs and that many jobs are rejected by unemployed Israelis because they are considered "Arab jobs", is harmful to the structure of Israeli society as Labour would like it to be. Furthermore, the availability of cheaper Arab labour has delayed the introduction of modern production methods in several branches of industry and construction.

It is important that living conditions in Gaza be improved.

There is a demographic problem which is much graver in Gaza than in Judea and Samaria. SO MUCH FOR the consensus. Now for the issues on which Labour's positions are fuzzy or non-existent.

Beyond the bandying about of slogans, what are the real future options for the Gaza Strip?

Is it realistic to advocate its eventually being attached to a state made up of Transjordan and part of the West Bank?

Is a Hongkong solution feasible, remembering that Hongkong will eventually revert to China?

What are the implications of implementing an autonomy plan, given that the predominant force in Gaza today (largely due to our misguided encouragement) is the Islamic Jihad?

Is there a serious UN or other international option?

Sooner or later one must opt unequivocally and responsibly for one of these solutions, and act systematically to make its realization possible.

The miscalculation regarding the encouragement, or at least the absence of discouragement, of Islamic forces (it was believed that this would weaken the PLO) raises the question: what sort of personalities, trends and ideologies should one encourage, or at least refrain from discouraging, in the Gaza Strip, and in the West Bank, for that matter? Is it

only quinquies, or completely irrelevant individuals whose emergence into the limelight was purely fortuitous, whom we should refrain from blocking?

On a different level, since Israel withdrew from the Rafiah Salient, which under the Allon Plan should have remained under Israeli sovereignty, what is Labour's true position regarding the Jewish settlement belt between Gaza and the Egyptian border?

In addition, how does one resolve the contradiction between the growing concern over the population density and dreadful living conditions in Gaza itself, and the fact that most of the state lands in the Strip have been allocated to several thousand trigger-happy Jewish settlers?

If one rejects the transfer idea as being inhuman, what does one offer instead?

IN THE SPHERE of economic development, what is Labour's attitude towards the industrialization and urbanization of Gaza? Though most Labourites pay lip-service to the need to encourage economic development in Gaza (and in the West Bank), in fact, every local Arab economic initiative encounters a Kafkaesque reality which makes the realization of even the most modest and unobjectionable initiatives impossible.

The formulation of a clear policy on this issue is especially important in light of the contradiction between the desirability of full employment in Gaza and the concern about the social implications of the

phenomenon of Arab labour in the Israeli economy.

An additional aspect of the same problem concerns the time-bomb of mental instability in the Strip, resulting from the population's hopelessness and insecurity and the daily contact of close to 20 per cent of them with the open, permissive modern Israeli society.

THESE ARE but some of the many aspects of the Gaza problem to which the Labour Party ought to set its mind. However, even though everyone admits that the matter is urgent, so far no serious discussion on the subject has taken place within the party institutions.

Taking a cynical point of view, Mordechai Gur expressed his doubts to me as to whether the party was capable of holding such a discussion without its deteriorating into an irrelevant general debate.

Opposed to this cynical approach was the cautious attitude of Mr. Edna Solodir, who argued that the subject had to be studied very carefully before an open debate could take place and binding decisions adopted.

But what have we been doing for the last 20 years?

There are many serious studies and reports on the Gaza Strip, many of them prepared by persons belonging to the Labour camp or close to it. Certainly there is enough information on which to begin formulating a comprehensive policy.

Why keep putting off the decision? Why not at least try to formulate a policy on this, as on other complicated issues, in anticipation of the next elections? It is certainly a worthy challenge.

The writer is editor of the Labour Movement's monthly, Spectrum.

Let's not kid ourselves

Yisrael Medad

form army service beyond the Green Line.

Cannot the same peace camp understand the immorality of engaging in negotiations with Jordan, a country that prohibits a Jew from living within its borders, not to speak of the PLO? The usual response, that one makes peace with one's enemies, not with one's friends, is woefully inadequate. The true political reply must take into account that one makes war with one's enemies, too.

The Arab world sees Israel as an illegitimate intruder. Terms such as "conquest" and "occupied lands" refer in the first place to Jaffa, Beer-sheva and Nazareth. When it was founded in 1948, the PLO's intention was the liberation of the territory of Israel within the Green Line borders.

This continues to be their goal, although PLO minimalists will be satisfied as a beginning, with the 1947 partition plan boundaries. From a Zionist viewpoint, the settlement of Judea, Samaria and Gaza over the last 20 years was infinitely more ethical than the settlement policies prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, if measured by

the number of Arab villages depopulated and refugees displaced.

With all the hue and cry, my conscience as a resident of Shiloh is undisturbed, whereas I cannot fathom the conscience of my fellow Zionist at Barkai. My presence has not displaced one Arab, has not destroyed one Arab house or taken over one Arab field. From an Arab perception, the Green Line can in no way be the dividing line of Zionism's morality.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE of the ostrich-like behaviour of the peace camp is its constant harping on the theme of territorial compromise. The equation of "territories = peace" is non-existent. Israel possessed no "territories" before 1967, and yet peace was also not at hand. Rather, there were *fedayeen* incursions and border incidents. Security meant hundreds of dead and thousands of injured in the 19 years of territorial compromise between the founding of the state and the Six Day War.

The hostility to Israel is not a

function of territory and nor can a peace treaty be predicated on territory. That hostility is not based on anything tangible, and therefore there is nothing that can be adequately traded to guarantee a peace. The peace camp insist on ignoring the deep-seated antagonism that denies any form of an independent Jewish polity. They should also consider the ramifications of the history of the other non-Arab minorities such as the Kurds, Assyrians and Maronites.

It is the rhetoric of such as Abba Eban that illustrates the supposed moral superiority that is a major stumbling-block to the proper comprehension of what course the peace process will follow. Israel's administration in Judea and Samaria is described as an "ideology and rhetoric of self-worship and exclusiveness that are incompatible with the ethical legacy of prophetic Judaism and classical Zionism" (*Titans*, Vol. I, 2).

As to classical Zionism, what are we to do with Chaim Weizmann's proposal, made to the U.S. State Department in 1943, that if Ibn Saud were paid enough (\$20,000 per head?) then the entire Arab popula-

tion of Palestine could be transferred (see M. Cohen's *Churchill and the Jews*, p. 238)?

Zionist political practicalities were always a matter of vision and planned chance. Justice, first and foremost, was measured against the rights and needs of the Jewish people returning to their historic homeland.

Intentions aside, however, the results of pre-state Zionism were no less unacceptable to the Arabs than what is being accomplished in Judea and Samaria today.

Let us not kid ourselves. The relationship between Jew and Arab in Eretz Yisrael/Palestine is not one of conflict but of a murderous crusade designed by the Arabs to shed as much Jewish blood as possible as well as eradicate the Jewish state. The Jewish people is to be denied any semblance of sovereignty.

To the Arab mind, the State of Israel is just as exclusive as the ideology Eban rails against. A pessimist has been defined as an optimist with the facts at hand. Those who embraced Arafat in Geneva and those in Jerusalem who have embraced PLO shadow-figures are optimists who ignore the facts. They are the fools and Zionism is no fool's game.

The writer, an editor of Counterpoint, is an adviser to the Tehiya Knesset Faction.

THE MORNING AFTER

Three lessons from the unrest in the territories:

— Despite official claims that administrative detention of Palestinian activists calms the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the areas have erupted while the alleged agitators are in prison. Faisal Hussein was in jail from April to July, and the official word was that his incarceration brought a reduction in unrest. Now both he and the Chairman of the Arab Journalists Association, Radwan Abu Ayyash, are in jail, on grounds that they foment disturbances. Precisely while they are behind bars, riots reach new dimensions.

— Despite official claims that the situation in the territories is "under control," soldiers are still being caught in circumstances where they feel they must open fire, killing and wounding Palestinians. Getting caught repeatedly in circumstances where you must open fire is lack of control. Beating a handcuffed detainee with rifle butts, dragging wounded from hospitals and vandalising homes is losing control. The army is getting things under control at the expense of its own self-control. This is Israel's dilemma in the territories: can it control others without losing control of itself?

— Despite official claims that the campaign against PLO supporters is aimed at promoting moderate elements in the territories, the authorities have politically decapitated the Palestinian community. Israel refuses to have traffic with Palestinian nationalist spokesmen: they are ignored, jailed or deported. But when the leadership is gagged, it is the street that speaks.

JOEL GREENBERG

CABINET DEBATE

(Continued from Page One)

their operations against terrorism and against violations of law and order.

The communiqué underlined the "maximum efforts of the security forces to avoid casualties" and noted that reports about casualties in "the media" had been "highly exaggerated." It said that contacts would continue with the leaders of the Arab population to get them to calm tempers, since the Arab population itself was the main victim of terror and rioting.

The communiqué also urged that a distinction be made between the campaign against terror and the political process. "Even though different views exist within the cabinet concerning the political process which all would like to see continued," the communiqué said, "the cabinet is united in its attitude towards the fight against terror. Israel will not flag in its defence and the IDF must continue to maintain a balance between deterrence and restraint."

"Israel practices more restraint than any other regime in the world and it is certain of its moral integrity and that of its security forces."

In the discussion, Weizmann explained his proposal to pull the IDF out of the refugee camps, the rationale being that the warring Palestinian factions would "burn each other up."

Minister without Portfolio Yitzhak Moda'i, who complained that Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin as well as Foreign Minister Shimon Peres were both abroad at this crucial time of periods, said he could not understand how it was possible that the IDF, whose strength was so well-known, could not quell the riots with greater ease.

Minister without Portfolio Yosef Shapira was incensed at what he called "distortions in the media" and said that not only should the security man filmed shooting into the orange grove in Gaza last week not have been relieved of his job, but the fact of his being relieved should have been censured. The Israeli settlers in Gush Katif at the southern end of the Gaza Strip, who have been the main victims of the disturbances economically, are for the most part members of Shapira's National Religious Party.

Shahal said the Likud and the Alignment should establish a dialogue as soon as possible to develop ideas for relaunching a Middle East peace initiative.

Weizmann, aware that the intensity of the concern in Cairo had finally been appreciated by Shamir and his closest advisers, said, "Our relationship with Egypt is a treasure which we must cherish more carefully. I believe that the situation is more serious than people imagine."

READERS' LETTERS

ANALYSIS OF A PICTURE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — They say that one picture is worth a thousand words. And there it is, big and clear enough for everyone to see. Of all the thousands of pictures the press must have taken during last week's disturbances in Gaza, *The Jerusalem Post* chose this one to portray the week on the front page of its December 11 issue. The caption read: "Confrontation in Gaza: a soldier forcibly warns a resident he is breaking the curfew."

Yes indeed, there is a hardy Israeli soldier, face distorted (undoubtedly with hatred), intimidating a poor (notice his clothing), frightened (notice the man's arm, upraised in an effort to ward off the soldier), helpless resident of Gaza and "forcibly" warning the fellow(s) to get off the streets (how else do soldiers warn people who choose to disregard a curfew if not forcibly?).

Gun slung aggressively over his shoulder and obviously relishing his role as conqueror, the soldier is just one more example of the Ugly Israeli we have all come to know — lord it over innocent, defenceless men, women and children whose only crime is their burning love for their

legally acquired, ages-old homeland. How easy to envision this very soldier violating Arab rights and property! And how likely that he, and others like him, are, at the very least, sympathizers, if not active supporters, of Kahane!

(And notice the prominent kippa on his head. With all those yeshiva boys avoiding their army service, it must have taken great dedication on the part of the photographer to find a kippa-clad head for this particular picture.)

No wonder poor peace-loving young Israelis hesitate to serve in the illegally conquered territories of the Arab nation, wrenched from these unfortunate people in a bloody war waged upon them in 1967.

Whoever the people in the picture are, they were out after curfew hours, disobeying orders in a dangerous, military situation (to say the least). Of course, that doesn't give the Israelis any right to act disrespectfully to them, but still...

Oh well, it doesn't really make any difference. If *The Post* doesn't find one picture, they'll find another.

D. WASSERMAN
Jerusalem.

SEA POINT CONGREGATION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — It is with a great measure of concern that I read Yehuda Litani's article of November 20, "Family affairs."

Whilst I do not wish to comment on what appears to have been a dramatic visit to Crossroads and the surrounding area, nor on your reporter's vivid description of the scene, I must take issue with the comment expressed in the second from last paragraph of the article. We wish to point out that at no stage have the authorities, either directly or indirectly, tried to pressure the Sea Point community into breaking its contract with Rabbi Franklin.

ED SEGAL

President,
Green and Sea Point
Hebrew Congregation

Cape Town.

HOSPITAL WITH A HEART

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — I was referred to Shaare Zedek Hospital in Jerusalem for cataract surgery and lens implant. I naturally arrived a bit apprehensive and nervous, especially as it was the first surgery I had to undergo.

When I entered the admitting office, I was greeted by a matronly woman with a big smile who asked the necessary questions in a caring and soothing tone. As I sat there, I happened to glance at the other admitting desk in the room, and there the woman was audibly reassuring the patient.

When I got to the next station, the reception office for new patients, the story was repeated. The women there treated the patients with con-

sideration, patience and humour, and from the time I was comfortably quartered in the eye department of the hospital until my discharge, the nurses there gave me a feeling of continual concern and personal involvement. So often, by the nature of their procedures, institutions which serve people induce in the recipients a feeling of being a mere number. According to my experience, if any hospital lives up to the slogan, "The hospital with a heart," it is certainly Shaare Zedek.

SHLOMO KIEFFER

Jerusalem.

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